

Towson University

JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES





**Towson University  
Journal of Historical Studies**

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## Statement of Purpose

The Towson University Journal of Historical Studies is just one product of the cooperation between the faculty and students of the Department of History at Towson University. Not only does the Journal offer an excellent opportunity for students to engage in an intellectual discourse with their peers, but also they are able to work closely with any and all members of the Department of History. Collaboration between the two groups outside of the classroom setting enables all parties involved to learn from each other and grow as members of Towson University's academic community.

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## Letter from the Chair of the Towson University Department of History

It is a pleasure and privilege to recognize the commitment and work of the many students and faculty who have contributed to the publication of the 2012 edition of the Towson University Journal of Historical Studies.

Since the first edition of the Journal appeared in the Spring of 1998 under the initiative and leadership of student-editor Ms. Shannon Stevens, the Journal has continued as a highly successful student-centered enterprise. The energy, direction, and, most importantly, the essays themselves, all come from Towson students, especially those who are members of the History Honor Society, Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Beta chapter. The success of the students' efforts is clearly reflected in the awards and recognition that the Theta-Beta chapter has received from the national offices of Phi Alpha Theta.

Faculty have played a key role in assisting, advising, and mentoring Towson students with the Journal. Dr. Karl Larew provided critical support for the launch of the Journal, and the continuing hard work and dedication of the Theta-Beta chapter Faculty Advisor, Dr. Alhena Gadotti, and of Journal Faculty Advisor Dr. Allaire Stallsmith have helped maintain a strong record of accomplishment for the Journal.

Working together, students and faculty have realized an important achievement, one that reflects well upon the Department of History and Towson University, but that most of all, makes evident the intelligence, writing skill, and determination of Towson students. Congratulations on the great success of your efforts!

Ronn Pineo,  
Professor and Chair  
Department of History, Towson University

## Note From the Editor

It has been an honor to take on the prestigious position of Editor for the 2012 edition of the Towson University Journal of Historical Studies. It has been a great pleasure to take part in the production of this student-centered collection of historical essays.

I would like to thank the editors, who worked together to create an exceptionally polished work. Additionally, I would like to thank Assistant editor Patrick Cutter for being an exceptional mentor and a privilege to work with. I would also like to thank Dr. Allaire Stallsmith, who was a wonderful advisor, without whom the Journal would not have been possible. Lastly, I would like to thank the faculty who reviewed submitted papers for the Journal, to help the students make revisions and improve their papers for publication.

Due to the determination and involvement of both faculty and staff, we have successfully recognized the accomplishment of Towson University students in their endeavors to broaden their intellectual knowledge in historical study.

I have been deeply honored to be a part of this process and congratulate all of those who joined me in the production of the 2012 edition of the Towson University Journal of Historical Studies.

Lisa Girardi  
Editor, Journal of Historical Studies

## The Lewis and Clark Expedition: Strategies of Diplomacy

Caitlin Hughes

On September 25, 1804, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark encountered the first crisis of their expedition; the Corps of Discovery engaged in a dispute with the Sioux nation in which William Clark, "felt [himself] Compeled to Draw [his] Sword."<sup>1</sup> As the expedition journeyed along the Missouri River, it confronted the Native American tribe known as the Teton tribe of the Sioux nation, which resided in the plains on both sides of the Missouri River. The Sioux considered the Missouri River to be a portion of their territory and therefore customarily required payment of those who desired to pass through their waterways.

As the Corps of Discovery attempted to pass through the portion of the Missouri River belonging to the Sioux tribe, the Teton warriors stopped the boat with loaded bows and arrows. Clark welcomed three Chiefs aboard and demonstrated the use of a new type of gun and presented them with gifts. They were offered some whiskey and after drinking about a fourth of a cup each seemed to be intoxicated. Clark took them to shore on small flat-bottomed boats crafted specifically for easy maneuverability through the shallow waters of the Missouri River; these small boats were known as pearogues. Once on shore, the Teton tribesmen attempted to confiscate one of the pearogues claiming they were not satisfied with the gifts bestowed upon them by the American expeditionary forces. The Corps of Discovery was not permitted to continue their journey along the river until the Teton men felt they were sufficiently pleased with the gifts presented. The tension climaxed as the Corps of Discovery armed themselves against the Teton tribe with intentions of passing through the waterway by force. Clark seized control of the situation informing the Teton warriors that the expedition must not be detained. Clark continued to threaten the Tetons warning them of the consequences if he should be forced to contact their "new father," also known as the President of the United States. With this, the Native Americans apologized for their actions and allowed the Corps of Discovery to pass through the waterway unharmed.

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark attempted to foster diplomatic connections between the United States and the Native Americans of the upper Missouri River region; they failed to do so. Yet, the expedition provided the Native Americans with a new perspective of the "white man," through the encouragement of personal connections and exposure to the new technologies and policies of the United States. The lack of a thorough understanding of the Native American culture hindered the Corps of Discovery in their creation of more substantial connections between the United States and the Native Americans of the region.

In 1803, Thomas Jefferson sent James Madison to France to purchase an expanse of land, which extended from present day Illinois to Montana. This territory consisted of 880,000 square miles of land and cost the United States fifteen million dollars.<sup>2</sup> Once the territory became an official extension of the country, Jefferson wrote a formal letter to Congress requesting financial assistance with an expedition, which he had been planning for years. To complete this mission, Jefferson entrusted the task to a talented soldier, hunter, and naturalist, Meriwether Lewis. Jefferson had appointed Lewis as his personal secretary in 1801, shortly after he became President.<sup>3</sup> Lewis then invited William Clark, an old friend from the army, to join the Corps of Discovery as a Captain of equal authority to that of himself. Though Clark had no formal schooling, he was an excellent cartographer, a skilled waterman, and he understood a fair amount of Native American diplomacy. To guarantee that the Corps of Discovery completed the task to the standards, which he expected, Jefferson composed written instructions. These instructions included both the general expectations of the mission as well as the more detailed aspects. Jefferson emphasized the exploration of the Missouri River as a possible waterway. He also asked the men to record their findings with the utmost care not to omit any information, which may be vital to understanding the resources, people, and landscape of the upper Missouri River. Jefferson was interested in the geography of the territory, the possibility of undiscovered animal species, fostering positive diplomacy between the Native Americans and the United States, and the presence of minerals and natural resources.<sup>4</sup>

Upon making contact with the Native American populations of the Missouri River region, European explorers from Spain, France, and Britain spread a variety of diseases rapidly through the villages. The impact of previous European explorers on the peoples of the region as well as the land itself revealed the intentions of the European adventurers and the reasons for the types of interactions which Lewis and Clark later experienced when dealing with the Native Americans. Explorers and traders of European countries were primarily interested in developing commerce with the Native Americans, as they believed that economic and material relations would encourage better diplomatic connections. As European-Native American exchanges intensified, diseases began to spread uncontrollably through the villages. The Native Americans had not been previously exposed to these diseases prior to European contact and lacked the immunity and means of alleviating the symptoms, which eventually resulted in death. Diseases such as smallpox, diphtheria, measles, typhus, and others killed thousands of Native Americans and destroyed villages.<sup>5</sup>

The Corps of Discovery witnessed this destruction as they passed through a Mahar town; the Mahars were a separate tribe of Native Americans. In the Mahar town, Clark noted, "the ravages of the Small Pox (which Swept off 400 men & Womyn & children in perpopotion) has reduced this nation not exceeding 300 men."<sup>6</sup> Clark continued to note the effect of Smallpox as

it spread through the town. The tribe had left the area uninhabited and had never returned from its "pursute of the Buffalow."<sup>7</sup> Clark proposed that the contraction of the disease originated from another tribe, which led to the assumption that they became afflicted with smallpox "from Some other nation by means of a warparty."<sup>8</sup> Though diseases severely damaged the communities, the people of the upper Missouri River were able to survive and prosper.

Despite the destructive footprints of past European expeditions, Lewis and Clark were determined to improve Native American impressions of the "white man" with the anticipation of establishing better diplomatic relations between the Native Americans and the United States. The Lewis and Clark Expedition used a variety of strategies for developing diplomacy which included creating chiefs, delivering kinship speeches, providing gifts for the Native Americans, and displaying the power of the United States.<sup>9</sup>

Much like their European contemporaries, Lewis and Clark believed that the political structure of Native American tribes should resemble that of European nations.<sup>10</sup> Upon making contact with the Native American people, they found that a hierarchy of power was absent from the tribes. The absence of an organizational system of power complicated addressing the Native peoples because there was no central figure with whom the Corps of Discovery could communicate with directly. Considering that the culture deemed it unnecessary for the tribe to have a central leader, the Natives placed significance on the elders of the tribe with the belief that they possessed wisdom, which can only be obtained in old age. Lewis and Clark attempted to simplify the lines of communication between the Corps of Discovery and the Native Americans by selecting representatives of each tribe. These elected men would be recognized as Chiefs among the tribes and they were to represent the population in negotiations between their people and the United States.

Lewis and Clark encountered the Teton tribe of Native Americans when traveling along the Teton River. After breaking the initial hostility, Lewis and Clark "made 3 Chief 1 for each Village; gave them all presents,"<sup>11</sup> in an effort to simplify communication between themselves and the Teton tribe. Once the Chiefs were in place, Lewis and Clark attended ceremonies and speeches under the impression that the words of the Chiefs were not only personal opinions but those of their villages as well. Later, on their return journey, Lewis and Clark would find that the stability of a central figure had crumbled shortly after the expedition continued up the Missouri River. The culture of the Native American populations did not support the idea of a central figure that would hold a position of power over the remaining tribesmen. In Lewis and Clark's efforts to establish these Chiefs, positive relations were created with the people of the villages, yet they failed to construct a political system, which would be effective in diplomatic negotiations with the United States.

Lewis and Clark failed in their goal to foster diplomatic connections between the United States and the Native Americans as the system of chiefs collapsed. The Native Americans rejected the idea of making chiefs with

the belief that the title of chief generated conflict among the members of the tribe. Nicholas Biddle, who assisted in the publication of accounts of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, explained Mandan customs in detail, "the power of a chief is rather the influence of character than the force of authority. He shares all the labors of his warriors, is exempted from none of their services, & is only the first among his equals."<sup>12</sup> Biddle explained Mandan chiefs to be influential people who provided guidance to members of the villages, yet the chiefs did not have the authority, which may have been associated with the power of the president of the United States.

Jefferson asked Lewis and Clark to deliver information concerning the purchase of the Louisiana Territory to the Native Americans in addition to the improvement of diplomatic interactions. To deliver this information, Lewis and Clark combined the information with their kinship speech, which they would deliver to the various Native tribes they encountered.<sup>13</sup> Lewis and Clark told the Native Americans of the new ruler in the land, their new "White Father," whom the United States recognized as the President. With the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, land that had been owned by the French now belonged to the United States. Though Lewis and Clark attempted to present this new information in a way the Native Americans could understand they failed to do so. Primarily, this failure was due to a poor understanding of complex Native American kinship shared among the members of the tribe. Native Americans believed that "relatives were people who acted like relatives,"<sup>14</sup> which meant that though persons were not biologically related; they could become part of an adopted family. If another group or family adopted a Native American, they were dedicated to them with a bond that resembled that of a family. This kinship relationship proved to be fundamental to Lewis and Clark who had never truly understood the relationship between the adopted and the family. This kinship relationship would be the foundation, which Lewis and Clark used to create their speeches. Lewis and Clark believed if they addressed the Native Americans in a manner, which reflected their desire to acquire the tribes trust, that the message of their speech would be well received. Lewis and Clark "Delivered a long Speech to them expressive of [their] journey the wishes of [their] Government, some advice to them and Directions how they were to conduct themselves,"<sup>15</sup> and the Native Americans were surprisingly receptive to the speech.

The Native Americans considered some of the concepts which Lewis and Clark spoke of, yet the ideas were abstract to them. Lewis and Clark tried to simplify this material through their speech using terms more familiar to the Native Americans such as the "White Father;" often times the Native Americans responded positively and understood the words of Lewis and Clark. The Native Americans enjoyed the company of the men and were interested in learning more about them. The speeches would improve Lewis and Clark's position with the Native Americans, in that the Native Americans believed that the speeches were part of a

kinship ceremony much like they would participate in. The speeches, though pleasant, were ineffective in conveying the information and failed to produce the desired results concerning diplomatic relationships. This failure was due largely to the inability of the Native Americans to comprehend the message, which Lewis and Clark were attempting to convey. This in turn complicated Lewis and Clark's original mission; to create diplomacy between the Native Americans and the United States.

When naming chiefs and making kinship speeches, Lewis and Clark acknowledged the importance of gift giving during the process of forming relationships both personal and political.<sup>16</sup> Gifts represented national power and the growing presence of American commercial influence. Primarily, Lewis and Clark gave gifts to important members of the tribes to symbolize goodwill and an interest in developing peace between the Native American tribes and the United States.

Lewis and Clark recognized this complex system of gift giving and the relationship, which it promoted if the gifts were accepted well by the receiving party. Prior to the expedition, Lewis compiled a list of presents, which were to be purchased for the trip. This list not only contained the gifts, but also the quantity and the price that it would cost to acquire them. Lewis lists these objects in a summary of purchases, which included, "12 Pipe Tomahawks...130 Rolls of Tobacco (pigtail)...12 doz. Pocket Looking Glasses."<sup>17</sup> This expansive list included more than nine thousand gifts costing around six hundred and sixty nine dollars; here the significance of gifts is more than apparent.

The strict budget, which the Corps of Discovery was forced to operate under, also limited the amount of gifts, which the party could bring with them. The tight budget of \$2,500 proved to be too little when dealing with the Native Americans, who were not interested in negotiating with the party until they had received the proper gifts. The lack of sufficient presents damaged relationships which could have been strengthened had a greater budget been approved for the purchase of gifts for the expedition. Though the offerings were not as abundant as desired, Lewis and Clark continued to emphasize the gifts as used to entertain the tribes throughout their recordings. Evidence of the importance of giving is apparent in Clark's journal when he mentions, "a Cannister of Powder and a Bottle of whiskey and delivered a few presents to the whole, after giving a Br. Cth [Breech Cloth] some Paint quartering & a Meadell to those we made Chiefs."<sup>18</sup> Though these favors were received well, the Native Americans were not interested in forging lasting diplomatic connections with the United States as a nation.

The Native Americans were attracted to the gift exchange process in the sense that it was to create relationships between particular persons. Lewis and Clark gave presents in an attempt to establish better political dealings between the United States and the Native Americans; this was a failure, yet the institution of personal connections with the Native Americans improved sentiments toward "white men." When

the Native Americans accepted offerings from Lewis and Clark a level of confidence was recognized which united the Native Americans and the people of the United States, though not in a political sense.

The Corps of Discovery, in the interest of displaying the power of the party as well as the strength of the United States, attempted to impress the Native Americans with fascinating objects. The party wore brightly colored uniforms, fired air guns, and presented items of curiosity to the Native Americans, such as mirrors, in its effort to amaze the Native Americans.<sup>19</sup> The exhibition of authority was effective in astonishing the Native American chiefs as well as their people. Both the spectacle of superiority and gift giving were unspoken approaches to diplomacy; Clark recorded reactions of the Native Americans "after Capt. Lewis's Shooting the air gun a few Shots (which astonished those natives)."<sup>20</sup> This strategy of diplomacy adequately held the interest of the Native Americans with the Corps of Discovery, yet it failed to encourage better diplomatic relations between the United States and the tribes of the Upper Missouri River region. The technologies of Lewis and Clark were far superior to those of the Natives, which they encountered; therefore, a majority of the tribes took particular interest in them. The Native Americans exhibited their fascination when Clark, "showed them many Curiosities and the air gun which they were much astonished at. Those people begged much for Whiskey."<sup>21</sup> The Native American desire for the goods of the Corps of Discovery demonstrated the appeal of the objects, which the explorers presented them with.

Though the Corps of Discovery attempted to do all that was in their power to gain the trust of the Native Americans along the upper Missouri River, their strategies failed to create the trust that could be gained by having a fellow Native American among the party. Sacajawea was a member of the Shoshone tribe, though she resided in a Mandan village. When she was twelve years old she was captured by a Hidatsa war party and taken to a Mandan village where she later met Lewis and Clark.<sup>22</sup> Sacajawea was married to a French-Canadian explorer and trader, Toussaint Charbonneau. "Charbonneau and his Indian Squar [were hired by the Corps of Discovery] to act as interpreter & interpretress for the snake Indians—one Mandan & Charbonneau's infant."<sup>23</sup> The couple was to assist with translations for the Lewis and Clark Expedition during their winter among the Mandan people. Clark notes the importance of Sacajawea's presence among the explorers, "As soon as they Saw the Squar wife of the interpreter...the sight of This Indian woman, wife to one of our interpr. Confirmed those people of our friendly intentions, as no woman ever accompanies a war party."<sup>24</sup>

During the winter spent among the Mandan people, Lewis and Clark began to appreciate the advantage of the couple, Charbonneau and Sacajawea. Clark noted the importance of Sacajawea in bridging the gap between the white explorers and the Native American populations. This suggests that Lewis and Clark, though they claimed relations between the Native Americans and the expedition was positive, recognized that their interactions were

not as comfortable as they had hoped. What appeared to be the simplest remedy for the situation was to bring Sacajawea along for the expedition to improve the sentiments between the explorers and the Native American populations. Sacajawea proved to be an excellent translator, as Lewis mentions in a letter to Thomas Jefferson concerning the mission, "Interpreters... a Shoshone woman and child wife and infant of Toust. Charbono [Toussaint Charbonneau]."<sup>25</sup> Sacajawea's assistance eventually became crucial to the improvement of between the Native Americans and the Corps of Discovery.

When Lewis and Clark attempted to build diplomatic relationship between the Native Americans and the United States, the Native Americans were required to reciprocate the communication received from the Corps of Discovery. The Native American tribes responded in several ways, which could have included anything from welcoming to complete denial of communication. These responses depended on certain circumstances such as the initial confrontation between the Corps of Discovery and the tribe. How Lewis and Clark handled the original contact made with the tribe could be vital to later correspondence between that particular tribe and the explorers. The reply of the tribes was also heavily influenced by previous contact with European explorers from Spain, France, and Britain.

The Native Americans of the upper Missouri River were interested in furthering the relationship between the tribe and the expedition. The Native Americans completed a series of strategies, which encouraged diplomacy, much like their American counterparts. The most significant and widely acknowledged Native American diplomatic strategy is the pipe ceremony.<sup>26</sup> The Native American pipe ceremony advanced a hospitable atmosphere of visitation among the tribes. To ensure that the relations among the tribes themselves were firmly established, the pipe ceremony was shared among the people. Extending its use beyond the cultural barriers of the tribes, to the Americans was a huge honor which exhibited the Native American desire to develop bonds with the United States that were similar to the ones they shared among themselves.

The pipe could be smoked at both formal and informal social gatherings.<sup>27</sup> During an informal social assembly, the pipe would serve as a tie between those who participated in the ceremony. Though the informal pipe was frequently used for less official meetings, this did not eliminate the possibility of diplomatic interactions while smoking. Typically, significant subjects such as diplomacy were discussed during the formal ceremony. Lewis and Clark would have the opportunity to experience formal pipe customs among the Native Americans when they were asked to join the ritual. Diplomacy was only a viable subject when communication was open, as it would be during the pipe ceremony. The pipe, though it had been recognized as a symbol of diplomacy long before Lewis and Clark, continued as a symbol, which generations of explorers, scientists, and average American people associated with peace and good company.



Lewis and Clark encountered the diplomatic pipe ritual while traveling among the Native American tribes of the upper Missouri River. Along their route they met with the Mandans, a Native American tribe of the Sioux Nation, Clark records their initial interactions with what seems to be blatant disinterest. When Clark, "walked up & Smoke a pipe with the Chiefs of the Village,"<sup>28</sup> his description, with its lack of zeal seems as though he had completed this custom among numerous Native American villages along the journey. His mention of the action seems to be in passing which suggests that the action was completed several times before. Clark demonstrates within his writing the frequent use of the pipe ceremony to develop better relations, though unintentionally. Pipe smoking illustrated a tribe's willingness to communicate with the Corps of Discovery. Clark's lack of interest in the importance of the pipe ritual between the Corps of Discovery and Native Americans, for whatever reason, may have inhibited the possibility for improved communication. This indifference would have neither a positive, nor a negative impact on the Native Americans, yet it complicated messages, which were shared between the travelers and the Native Americans. This hindered the Corps of Discovery in its attempts to share diplomacy between the United States and the Native Americans. The Native American people attempted to involve Lewis and Clark in their culture despite their disregard for Native American traditions. Lewis and Clark failed to develop strong diplomatic relationships with the Native Americans because they did not take the time to appreciate the cultural and political ways of the people they were interacting with.

In addition to the traditional pipe ceremony, the Native Americans presented the Corps of Discovery with the opportunity to attend a speech delivered by the elders of the tribe or one of the tribe's chiefs. These speeches reflected those of the Corps of Discovery, with a similar goal, to communicate the purpose of the interactions between the Native Americans and the explorers. Though the Native Americans were not communicated the installation of a new ruler in the land, which was the purpose of the speeches delivered by the Corps of Discovery, they were interested in manipulation. The Native Americans hoped to use the speeches to their advantage in deceiving the Americans through their words and actions. The oratories were meant to entice the Americans and impress them, much like the objective of the speeches, which Lewis and Clark delivered. To achieve this, the speech consisted of both the spoken language of the tribe, which the explorers could enjoy with the help of an interpreter, as well as ancient languages. Ancient languages were used to demonstrate the humility of the tribe and its leaders.<sup>29</sup> Once the speech was completed, the Americans were convinced of what the Native Americans had shared and the Native Americans used this as leverage. If a situation escalated between the Corps of Discovery and the Native Americans, words could resolve the issue. Such instances included circumstances in which the party and the Native Americans came into conflicts over the amount of gifts, which were provided. Using a different language helped to diffuse situations that would have otherwise escalated to

an outbreak of disorder between both peoples. Lewis and Clark often took the words of the chiefs and elders of the tribes at face value with no consideration of being deceived, making them an easy target for manipulation.

Clark records the verbal presentation which the Native Americans used to communicate, "at 11 o' Clock we met with the Grand Chief in Council and he made a Short Speech thanking us for what we had given him & his nation promisseing to attend to the Council we had given him & informed us the road was open & no one dare Shut it, & we might Depart at pleasure."<sup>30</sup> This entry reveals the Native American efforts to flatter the explorers. Even if the Native Americans did not entirely agree with all that the Corps of Discovery stood for, they recognized the value of exploiting the expedition for the goods, which they could attain. Gifts proved to be the result of these verbal presentations. Lewis and Clark failed in their mission to foster diplomatic relations between the United States and the Native American tribes of the upper Missouri River because of the Native Americans' preconceptions of the "white man."

Gifts were an important part of the Native American culture.<sup>31</sup> Presents were a reflection of the items, which the Native Americans found most valuable. The Native American tradition included the exchange of a person's greatest possessions to others as an offering, which demonstrated the devotion to kindness, which the culture encouraged. Gifts were also recognized, by previous European explorers from France, Spain, and Britain, as definite instigators of communication and involvement between explorers and Native Americans. Thomas Jefferson himself received presents from the Native Americans, which Lewis and Clark sent to the capitol. Jefferson wrote in response to the peace offerings from War Char Pa of the Sioux nation, "the abundant proofs given by him of his amicable disposition to cultivate peace, harmony, and good neighbourhood with the said States."<sup>32</sup> Though these contributions were thought to have been given to Jefferson in the interest of diplomacy, the gifts were given to the great "White Father." The Sioux were concerned with developing a strong relationship with the great "White Father" as a person, as opposed to the nation of the United States as a whole.

Other groups of Native Americans residing along the upper Missouri River were interested in fostering relationships with the Corps of Discovery as well. The desire to receive new extraordinary goods as offerings from the Americans encouraged much of the giving that took place. The Native Americans seemed curious in learning more about the ways and the persons of Lewis and Clark in addition to obtaining gifts. The Native Americans of the Mandan tribe spent much time building personal relationship with Lewis and Clark while the Corps of Discovery took refuge in a nearby encampment for the winter. Unfortunately, gift giving, though it was imagined to be a crucial technique of democracy, failed to create the lasting, strong, and important ties which were to connect the United States to the Native American populations along the upper Missouri River. Preconceptions of the "white man" complicated lines of communication, which

ruined Lewis and Clark's efforts though, with extended interaction, the views of the Mandan people were slowly altered. Lewis and Clark were able to alter the notions of the Mandans through the personal connections, which they built between themselves and the Mandan people.

Common stereotypes of Native Americans include dancing around a fire while making a whooping sound, dressing in barbaric clothing and strange feather headdresses. Strangely enough, this concept of Native American behavior is not completely untrue. The Native Americans had a complex society, though the ways of these people would seem barbaric to Lewis and Clark, they simply possessed separate beliefs and a different social, political, and cultural makeup than that of their European and American counterparts. The war dance was a strategy of diplomacy used by the Native Americans was meant to impress the Corps of Discovery.<sup>33</sup> The war dance was viewed as the Native American equivalent of the Corps of Discovery's parade of power. This dance was used to impress the explorers, through its use of bright colors, loud sounds, and ritualistic feel.

To demonstrate the strength of the tribe, the Native Americans built a large fire within their village and the people gathered around to sing in their language and they created music for dance.<sup>34</sup> Typically, the war dance was a celebration, which honored the victorious tribal men on their return from battle. Often, this festivity would feature the scalping of the defeated tribesmen.

Clark notes this dance with significant detail, "a Lodge within the Circle in which I Stayed with all their principal men until the Dance began.... performed by their women with poles on which Scalps of their enemies were hung."<sup>35</sup> Clark provides a vivid description of the war dance, which illustrated the culture of the people and their expression of power. This representation can be compared to the attempts, which Lewis and Clark made to prove the power of their technology. Lewis and Clark were easily impressed by the unfamiliar, hysterical ways of the Native Americans. This display intended to express a sense of fearlessness, which every man in the tribe possessed as well as the proud women who wished to expose the strength of the men who went into battle and returned victorious. Lewis and Clark were not able to build lasting diplomatic relations between the United States and the Native Americans as thoroughly as they should have. Without a comprehensive understanding of the Native American culture, Lewis and Clark were unsure of how to react to the war dance. The Corps of Discovery found it increasingly difficult to negotiate among a people they were so unfamiliar with.

With the separate techniques of diplomacy which were used by both the Corps of Discovery and the Native Americans of the upper Missouri River region, it is important to note that Lewis and Clark were not only interested in peace between the United States and the Native Americans along the upper Missouri River. Lewis and Clark were concerned with establishing a political system, which resembled European coun-

tries, which was reflected in their attempt to create chiefs, and in their attempts to create peace among the Native American tribes.

Understanding the complex relationships between differing tribes is critical to interpreting the failure of Lewis and Clark's diplomacy. When Lewis and Clark arrived among the Mandan tribe they possessed a general knowledge of the Native Americans and their cultural, political, and social systems. Native American tribes coexisted with one another in the same general location, often times competing with one another for the land and the resources, which the land had to offer.<sup>36</sup> Through violent competition the Native American tribes and villages battled one another in order to determine who would lay claim to the land. If these battles did not solve the dispute, war would ensue. These wars established boundaries, which all the tribes and villages of the area recognized. As resources within the defeated tribe's or village's land holdings dwindled, the tribes continued war with the surrounding tribes and villages in an effort to gain the land which would sustain their lifestyle and ensure prosperity.

Frequently, the wars resulted in particular tribes becoming large and more influential than the tribes, which were in the immediate area. Lewis and Clark witnessed territorial claims, tribal rivalries, and the economic ties, which existed between the villages and were moved to help.<sup>37</sup> The Corps of Discovery failed to understand the complex hierarchy of power constructed by warfare among the tribes and therefore were unsuccessful in their attempts to make peace between the warring peoples.

When the expedition ceased travel for the winter months, the Corps of Discovery built a fort near the Mandan village. Lewis and Clark became increasingly familiar with the tribe's people, traditions, culture, and society. As they sustained contact with the people, particularly the chiefs, they began to notice the hierarchy of power, which was not readily apparent. They began to see the struggles between the Arikara people and the Mandans and aspired to relieve the Mandan people of their oppressors.<sup>38</sup> Lewis and Clark sat in council with the Mandan chiefs and explained to them that peace among their people would bring prosperity. The Mandans in turn invited the Arikara leaders to the village where "the pipe was then smoked with several of the old men who were seated around the chief,"<sup>39</sup> and proceeded to "show you [Arikaras] that we wish peace with all men,"<sup>40</sup> so that Mandan people "could then hunt without fear of being attacked."<sup>41</sup>

At the end of the winter months, the situation between the Arikaras and the Mandans had improved significantly. The two villages seemed to be at peace with one another and the conditions within each village remained stable. Lewis and Clark then continued their journey up the Missouri River leaving the villages to uphold the terms of peace, which Lewis and Clark emphasized. When Lewis and Clark failed to find the northwest passageway they began the return journey, which passed through the Mandan villages once again. Lewis and Clark were surprised to find that the Arikaras and the Mandans had resumed their wars once the Corps

of Discovery had left the area. Clark was "very sorry to here that they [Arikaras] were not on friendly terms with their neighbours,"<sup>42</sup> Clark continued as he told the Arikara chiefs that "the Mandans & Menetaras [Hidatsas] had opened their ears to what we had to say to them but had Staid at home until they wer Struck,"<sup>43</sup> by the Arikara forces.

Despite Lewis and Clark's efforts to create social standards, which more closely resembled the government and society, which they were familiar with, they failed. As Lewis and Clark witnessed the breakdown of the Mandan village, which they believed to be reformed, they realized that the Native Americans could not be shaped to fit the mold, which they had set forth for them. The Native American culture and society did not support the changes which Lewis and Clark endorsed. The Native American community was one, which was founded on equality; they associated greatness with the man and not with the title. Therefore, if a man is named as chief and is not considered a great man in the eyes of the people, then he does not deserve to be chief.<sup>44</sup> This contrasts the Spanish, French, and British ideas which Lewis and Clark were familiar with which supported titles like Emperor, such as that which Napoleon was recognized by. Most Europeans respected the title of a government official even when they disagreed with the policies and actions of the leader. This did not hold true for Native Americans who, if they did not approve of the policies, they did not support the chief, whether he held the title or not. The tribes were constantly at war with one another, regardless of Lewis and Clark's futile attempts to change their ways. The Native Americans were strong, independent people who fought for the survival of their way of life. War was part of the Native American lifestyle. Lewis and Clark were disappointed in the Native Americans, who they believed were capable of political and social reform. Lewis and Clark failed to understand the complexities of Native American society; therefore they were unsuccessful in creating diplomatic relations between the United States and the Native American people of the upper Missouri River.

In addition to spending an extended period involved with the Mandan and Arikara peoples, Lewis and Clark encountered the Shoshone tribe along the Rocky Mountains during their travels. Sacajawea, an interpreter among the Corps of Discovery, was reunited with her kin as she held close kinship ties with numerous individuals of the Shoshone tribe. When Lewis and Clark made initial contact with members of the tribe, they proceeded to explain the goals of the expedition and to hand out medals to chiefs, gifts to onlookers, and to display the powerful gun which never ceased to amaze the Native Americans. While residing at the Shoshone camp, Meriwether Lewis recorded much data concerning the Shoshone Native American culture. His recordings demonstrated his grave misunderstanding of Native American culture as he portrayed the Shoshone peoples as individuals "fond of dressing up, telling tall tales, and too poor to know they ought to be unhappy without the blessings of civilization."<sup>46</sup> Despite this misunderstanding fueled by personal bias, the expedition was

able to foster positive relationships with the Shoshone tribe with the assistance of Sacajawea. With her cooperation, the Corps of Discovery was able to trade for new horses to assist in their arduous journey west.

As the expedition continued west toward the Pacific Ocean, they encountered the Salish Native Americans which Lewis and Clark note in their recordings as the Flatheads. As the Corps of Discovery neared the Salish village, Salish onlookers believed the group to be a raiding party and prepared for a hostile encounter. Fortunately, as the party approached the village the Salish peoples became convinced that the Corps of Discovery was in fact not a war party and they were greeted with the "national hug" which was employed by many Native American tribes when greeting newcomers peacefully. After the formal welcome, Lewis and Clark began the procedure they had adopted of creating positive diplomatic relations between Native American tribes and the United States. Unfortunately, there were complications surrounding effective translation, which were solved after the creation of an extensive translation chain. This allowed Lewis and Clark to explain the mission of the expedition, award medals and flags, and to make friendly with the Native Americans. Though the expedition did not stay an extended period with the Salish Native Americans, they did attempt to foster relations with them in addition to making some cultural recordings concerning the ways of the tribe. The Salish peoples assisted Lewis and Clark as they began the return journey to St. Louis.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition returned to St. Louis in September of 1806 with an abundance of journal entries, which noted subjects such as the Native Americans, the geography of the upper Missouri River territory, animal species, and evidence of minerals and natural resources to the specifications, which Thomas Jefferson had requested. The mission had failed in one of its most fundamental objectives, "to let [the Native Americans] know of the Change of Government the wishes of our government to Cultivate friendship with them, the Objects of our journey."<sup>49</sup> But the expedition did provide a new understanding of the Native Americans as well as producing an abundance of evidence of plants and animals existent in the Louisiana Territory. These findings and samples would allow for scientific advances and an improved conception of the upper Missouri River.

Through Lewis and Clark's efforts, the Native Americans of the upper Missouri River were introduced to the citizens of the United States. The Corps of Discovery's interaction with the Native American tribes resulted in the development of personal relationships between the Corps of Discovery and the Native American villages. Lewis and Clark's interactions with the Native Americans also contributed to a better understanding of the cultural ways of the Native American tribes. Lewis and Clark failed to create lasting diplomatic connections with the Native Americans due to their inability to convey their message in a simple and constructive fashion. The unforeseen complexities of the Native American ways of life, both socially and politically, hindered the possibility of cultivating better diplomatic relations.

Though Lewis and Clark were unsuccessful in establishing diplomatic relations between the Native Americans and the United States, they did alter the Native American preconceptions of "white men." Lewis and Clark's positive attitudes, their willingness to learn from the Native Americans, and their abilities to create personal relationships between themselves and the Native Americans presented the "white" people in a new light. This interaction that Lewis and Clark shared with the Native Americans of the upper Missouri River would lighten the animosity, which the Native Americans associated with the "white man." Lewis and Clark will always be remembered for their courage in exploring the Louisiana territory, their boldness in dealings with the Native Americans, and the new and intriguing findings, which they made along their journey.

### Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Meriwether Lewis, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, ed. Bernard DeVoto (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1953), 36.
- <sup>2</sup> David Holloway, *Lewis and Clark* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1974), 17.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.
- <sup>5</sup> James P. Ronda and Nancy Tystad Koupal ed., *Finding Lewis and Clark* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2004), 16.
- <sup>6</sup> Lewis, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, ed. Bernard DeVoto, 19.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>9</sup> Carolyn Gilman, *Lewis and Clark: Across the Divide* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 96-101.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.
- <sup>12</sup> Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: with Related Documents 1783-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), 519.
- <sup>13</sup> Carolyn Gilman, *Lewis and Clark: Across the Divide* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 99-100.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>15</sup> Lewis, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, ed. Bernard DeVoto, 19.
- <sup>16</sup> Carolyn Gilman, *Lewis and Clark: Across the Divide* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 100-101.
- <sup>17</sup> Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: with Related Documents 1783-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), 93.
- <sup>18</sup> Meriwether Lewis, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, ed. Bernard DeVoto (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1953), 16.
- <sup>19</sup> Carolyn Gilman, *Lewis and Clark: Across the Divide* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 100-101.
- <sup>20</sup> Meriwether Lewis, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, ed. Bernard DeVoto (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1953), 16.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.
- <sup>22</sup> Dorothy Gray, *Women of the West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 7.
- <sup>23</sup> Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: 1804-1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Harvard, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1905), 136, [http://books.google.com/books?id=HkQTAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=lewis+and+clark&lr=lang\\_en&as\\_brr=0&cd=7#v=onepage&q=&cf=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=HkQTAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=lewis+and+clark&lr=lang_en&as_brr=0&cd=7#v=onepage&q=&cf=false)
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>25</sup> Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: with*

*Related Documents 1783-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), 317.

<sup>26</sup> Carolyn Gilman, *Lewis and Clark: Across the Divide* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 103-104.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Meriwether Lewis, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, ed. Bernard DeVoto (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1953), 58.

<sup>29</sup> Carolyn Gilman, *Lewis and Clark: Across the Divide* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 104-105.

<sup>30</sup> Meriwether Lewis, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, ed. Bernard DeVoto (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1953), 49.

<sup>31</sup> Carolyn Gilman, *Lewis and Clark: Across the Divide* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 104-105.

<sup>32</sup> Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: with Related Documents 1783-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), 210.

<sup>33</sup> Carolyn Gilman, *Lewis and Clark: Across the Divide* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 106.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Meriwether Lewis, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, ed. Bernard DeVoto (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1953), 41.

<sup>36</sup> James P. Ronda and Nancy Tystad Koupal ed., *Finding Lewis and Clark* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2004), 12.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Meriwether Lewis, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, ed. Bernard DeVoto (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1953), 61.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 461.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> James P. Ronda and Nancy Tystad Koupal ed., *Finding Lewis and Clark* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2004), 13.

<sup>45</sup> James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 147-148.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 150.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 155.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 156.

<sup>49</sup> Meriwether Lewis, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, ed. Bernard DeVoto (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1953), 11.

## Exposing Children's Literature of the 1950s

Ashley Link

Society is vulnerable to change throughout time; it is influenced by current events, generational changes, and social changes. Societal beliefs are based upon morals, values, and structural changes, all of which are passed through the many sources of media available. One of the most influential sources of media is children's literature.

Within a society or culture, there are groups that reflect the different morals and values. "The family is the social group to which individuals look for security, care, and affection. Within a group, a child learns the values of his or her culture and ways of expressing them," as defined by Mary Lystad, in her "At Home in America: As Seen Through its Books for Children" book.<sup>1</sup> Children's literature is reflective of the family structure and gender roles within the family, which in turn, teaches children how to function in society including promoting equality, independence, and acceptance.

Children's literature of the 1950s reflected the societal values, morals, and family structure; however, it indirectly instilled new ideas that were emerging. America was experiencing drastic social changes with firmly established gender roles, failing family traditions due to the increase in divorce rates, and minorities fighting for civil rights. Within children's literature, new trends were teaching children about equality, independence, and acceptance. Parents were providing their children with resources that contained undertones of major changes prominent in society.

### Changes in family structure during the 1950s

Family structure was based around gender roles, which were reinforced in children's literature. America in the 1950s experienced tremendous change as a result of World War II ending and the Cold War beginning. To help with the war efforts, women obtained jobs outside their domestic niches. When the men returned home from overseas, they demanded their jobs back, forcing women back into the household. However, women enjoyed their newfound independence and resisted society's attempt to push them back to pre-World War II norms; they were expected to return to their domestic responsibilities without complaint while the men regained their status as the breadwinner of the family. Men, especially soldiers, earned a new status within society, as a result of being the lead runners in the defeat of Hitler and "Tojo."

Vice President Richard Nixon firmly believed in the resurfacing of pre-World War II family structure. While meeting with the Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev in 1959, he expressed that, "American superiority rested on the ideal of the suburban home, complete with modern appliances and distinct gender roles for family members. He proclaimed that

the "model" home, with a male breadwinner and a full time female homemaker, adorned with a wide array of consumer goods, represented the essence of American freedom."<sup>2</sup> This exchange became famously known as the "kitchen debates."<sup>3</sup> Nixon believed that in order to win the Cold War, it would be best to focus on the strength of family and society rather than on weapons.<sup>4</sup> The basis of family life was a means of maintaining security that would suppress the Cold War fear that Americans were feeling.

In order for society to work together to win the war, Americans conformed together, coalescing their belief systems to create the same image and family model.<sup>5</sup> By the time most Americans reached their mid-twenties, they were either married or getting married.<sup>6</sup> It became uncommon for Americans of that demographic to not be married; however, divorce was also increasing. The increase in the divorce rate may be directly related to the high number of young Americans getting married and starting their families. By 1950, three percent of the population was divorced, compared to the two percent in 1940.<sup>7</sup> "The rate of divorce was 10.6 per thousand married," according to Lystad.<sup>8</sup>

Regardless of the divorce rate, family sizes were increasing as well. The nationwide average family size included a mother, a father, and three to four children.<sup>9</sup> Future generations of parents had children earlier in their marriage.<sup>10</sup> "At a time when the availability of contraceptive devices enabled couples to delay, space, and limit the arrival of offspring to suit their particular needs, the rising birthrate resulted from deliberate choices. Nixon could, therefore, speak with some conviction when he placed the home at the center of postwar ideals," explains May.<sup>11</sup> Family structure had become emotionally closer and more secure because parents were able to decide when it was appropriate to have children.

Cultures differ based upon the functioning of society. During the Kitchen Debates, Khrushchev noticed the abundance of kitchen appliances, such as the washing machine, to which Nixon responded, "In America, these (washing machines) are designed to make things easier for our women."<sup>12</sup> However, the Soviet attitude toward women, Khrushchev explained, was not a capitalist one at all; they had absolutely no use for full time homemakers.<sup>13</sup> U.S. News and World Report interpreted the population of Moscow, "as 'a city of women - hard working women who show few of the physical charms of women in the west.'"<sup>14</sup> Women in America were expected to possess poise, grace, and domestic skills. In contrast, the Soviet society recognized that their women could be fully functioning members of society, which is very different from the American attitude.

Women experienced a great deal of pressure and difficulty with maintaining the expected lifestyle, which had an impact on their happiness and overall life satisfaction. In 1985, a study was conducted to determine the satisfaction of mothers from 1956. The participants, on average, were thirty-five years old, high school graduates, had two children, and had husbands that were employed.<sup>15</sup> "Women in this post-war period

were encouraged to bear and raise children, be good wives, and leave their full time jobs to the war veterans," explained the conductors of the study, Melody L. Miller, Phyllis Moen, and Donna Dempster-McClain.<sup>16</sup> Although this may have been a reality for many women, it did not mean they were happy with their degraded identity; the new reality held a much lower prestige, especially when compared to employment.<sup>17</sup>

The results of the study concluded that women who maintained multiple roles outside of motherhood had a more positive outlook on life and an overall better self-esteem.<sup>18</sup> The multiple roles included employment and social roles; social roles included country club membership or family relationships.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, if a woman felt inadequate with her home life and ability as a mother, she would often find a job outside the home to fulfill feelings of emotional discontent.<sup>20</sup>

Overall, families and gender roles of the 1950s have been stereotyped as being perfect, when in fact, they were far from it. Women and men were expected to return to pre-World War II societal norms, which entailed a woman being a homemaker and maintaining an appropriate image for her and the family, and a man being out in the work place, bringing home money to take care of the family. Men enjoyed their newly earned status of being victors of the war, while women hoped to stay in the work place.

#### Children's literature of the 1950s

The children's literature provided a means for children to understand the human condition.<sup>21</sup> The human condition is the manner in which people interact with one another in a society or culture. For example, the Civil Rights Movement was a way for African Americans to improve their interactions with whites. This laid the foundation for the influx of African American writers who wrote about their experiences where the characters overcame hardships.<sup>22</sup> Their stories provided minority children with an example of how to prevail through hardships.

Another way in which children's literature helped young readers understand the human condition was through instructional books. In 1957, the Soviet Union introduced Sputnik, the first satellite launched into space. This event sparked the release of instructional books. Dr. Seuss's book concentrated heavily on phonics and provided children with interesting stories and pictures to motivate their desire to learn.<sup>23</sup> Educators became obsessed with the need to have students learn more in general, as well as in specific fields, such as science and math. The hypothesis was made that by having more students involved in the physical sciences, America could be one step closer to a scientific victory that would surpass the Soviet Union.

Other instructional books were not academic but were intended to teach children how to cope with certain situations. World War II ended in 1945, so many families were entering the 1950s without a father because either he was killed during the war or missing in action; this was something relatively new for many children and families to cope with. Another

situation many children had to deal with was the increase in family size, so that meant more brothers and sisters. Books were written to help children understand what it meant to have a new sibling. Additionally, many families were moving to suburbia, so children had to learn how to make friends in a new neighborhood and a new school. There were books written to help them learn how to make new friends and cope with moving and adjustments. These types of instructional books followed the trend of assisting children in achieving their independence.

In addition to children becoming more independent, parents were encouraged to raise their children together rather than relying on the mother to raise them. Dr. Spock was an up and coming doctor who revolutionized child rearing. He preached that the father should be more active with daily chores and raising the children.<sup>24</sup> By doing so, fathers would have more developed maternal emotions toward their children.<sup>25</sup> The introduction of male figures as the primary caregiver became common, especially with the Curious George series.

H. A. Rey began writing the Curious George series in 1941, which told the story of a curious little monkey from Africa and his voyage to America.<sup>26</sup> The story begins in Africa, where the man in the yellow hat, the primary adult male character, is taking a trip.<sup>27</sup> He entices a seemingly innocent monkey, later to be named George, with his bright yellow hat, and thus he is successful in capturing him.<sup>28</sup> Surprisingly, Rey does not portray George as being scared; rather, he looks temporarily dumbfounded by the experience.<sup>29</sup> To head back to the main ship, they must ride on a small rowboat, where they are illustrated as being very excited to embark upon a new adventure.<sup>30</sup> George is symbolic of a foreign child that the man in the yellow hat adopts.

After World War II, the idea of bringing in children from uncivilized societies to a much more civilized society promoted adoption. The man in the yellow hat adopted George to be his own son. Christina Klein wrote about how the family was crucial to political issues. She believed that children, or "key children," would solve the foreign policy problems.<sup>31</sup> The key children would act as a source of relations between the two countries, helping to strengthen the relationship.<sup>32</sup> Klein theorized that the newly formed relationship would allow officials in Washington D.C. to enforce policies of Communism containment in those countries much more effectively.<sup>33</sup> Families were extraordinarily important during the Cold War, seeing that it was the main source of cultural spread through society. By adding Asian children into American families, Americans would learn to understand the Asian culture while spreading American culture.<sup>34</sup> Additionally, adoption helped improve the American image of being charitable and working with those in need. Laura Briggs author of, "Mother, Child, Race, Nation: The Visual Iconography of Rescue and the Politics of Transnational and Transracial Adoption," agrees with Klein. Briggs argued, "...beginning in the 1950s, this image became a finely honed trope, not merely one possible convention of visual culture. Furthermore, it played a more powerful role in shaping popular

support in the USA for a variety of public policy and foreign policy initiatives, from IMF loans to the globalization of an international labor force to US debates about family.<sup>35</sup> Adoption was ultimately viewed as a positive act of kindness and a means by which families were able to help children in need.

Rey was born and raised in Europe, where children were seen in a different light than Americans see their children.<sup>36</sup> Children were not viewed as fragile and innocent; instead, they were taught to stand up to their fears, for they will make them stronger adults.<sup>37</sup> Throughout his Curious George collection, this notion is clearly evident; George is constantly facing situations that American culture may be scared to even think about. One major trend throughout almost the entire series was that the man in the yellow hat, George's caregiver, did not supervise him closely. Supervision was expected in 1950s America, but in Europe, it would not have been seen as a norm; European children were taught to be tough, stand on their own, and be independent.<sup>38</sup> Even though the ideas were very different, parents still read this series to their children because of the humor and sense of adventure it brought, as well for the examples of being independent. George's caregiver let him do what he wanted, which usually got him in trouble; however, the adventures taught George about his personal limits and about the world, through his own exploration. During a time of intense fear, it helped to show children that they could face their fears.

Rey wrote Curious George Rides a Bike in 1952. The man in the yellow hat gives George a bike in celebration of the third year anniversary since they became a family.<sup>39</sup> Shortly after giving the present, the caregiver leaves George alone, allowing him time to explore with his new bike.<sup>40</sup> While exploring, George runs into a newspaper delivery boy who teaches him how to deliver newspapers.<sup>41</sup> George delivers newspapers to the neighborhood, which was illustrated as housewives cleaning inside, watching their children, or returning from their errands; whereas the men were doing the lawn work or other sorts of deliveries, such as bread and baked goods.<sup>42</sup> This is reflective on what society was theorized to be like; the book depicts a happy-go-lucky, suburban neighborhood, where the men did the hard work, the women were the housewives, and the children were carefully playing in the front yard where they could be closely monitored. Being European, Rey may have been mocking the American family for conformity since almost every house on the street was similar to one another, including how families functioned. During this time in America's history, many families were moving from the city to suburban neighborhoods, believing that it would be a better place to raise their families.<sup>43</sup>

Towards the end of the story, George got himself involved with a traveling animal show that was run by all men; the only women in this segment of the storyline were in the audience, enjoying the entertainment.<sup>44</sup> The men are working hard to get the animals prepped and ready for the show, which includes according to the picture a lot of heavy lifting, some cleaning, and mechanical work on the tractor.<sup>45</sup> That is

what was expected of men; they were to do the dirty work around the house and in the work place or wherever it might be needed. This scene teaches children that women are not cut out for this type of work; instead, men are seen as tough, smart, and better fit to handle the work.

The man in the yellow hat did not seem to think that George was fragile at all. He would leave him unsupervised for hours at a time, during which George would get into all sorts of dangerous trouble. Once the caregiver learned that he was in trouble, it appeared as if he did not care; there was no sign of parental anxiety, as he patiently waited for the safe return of his adopted son. In *Curious George Rides a Bike*, the man in the yellow hat did not panic when he learned that George was participating in a random traveling animal show; instead, he relaxed and enjoyed the show. This may be reflective of families that have adopted children; the care level may not be the same for children that are not actually their own flesh and blood.

Later in the 1950s, Rey wrote another book to add to the series entitled, *Curious George Gets a Medal*. Typically, George gets into some major trouble, but in this story, he ends up being the first living being to successfully jump from a space ship.<sup>46</sup> Seemingly enough, the relationship between George and his caregiver is continuing to develop as he shows more anxiety during George's adventures.<sup>47</sup> While playing in the museum of dinosaurs, knocking down the exhibit, George was taken to the lab, where the man in the yellow hat walked into the room, very excited.<sup>48</sup> To George, he said, "It seems you got yourself into a lot of trouble today. But maybe this letter here will get you out of it. It's from Professor Wiseman; he needs your help for an experiment. I found it on my desk at home – but I couldn't find YOU anywhere, so I came over here to talk to the Professor."<sup>49</sup> This shows that the man in the yellow hat was disappointed about the trouble George got into; however, he was excited and praised George when he learned that the Professor wanted the little monkey to fly into space.<sup>50</sup> During the expedition, the man in the yellow hat was excited when the professors expressed excitement and nervous when they portrayed it.<sup>51</sup> When George landed safely on Earth, the caregiver was one of the first in the crowd to run over and congratulate him.<sup>52</sup>

In 1957, the Soviet Union launched the Sputnik program. George was representing the first living thing in space. This part of the book encourages children to engage in academics, specifically math and science. Rey made the excursion exciting rather than terrifying, perhaps hoping to show future students that it is actually exciting.

It is becoming clearer that a single father could successfully raise a child and an adopted child at that. A father can raise a son to be a successful breadwinner for his future family. Gender roles in the family are more easily passed down through same sexed family members. The children are encouraged to go into professions that were important during the time, such as becoming an astronaut or scientist or anything that would help America get through the Cold War.

At this same time, educators and pediatricians were developing their views on children and their childhood, and Rey's books did not match up to their viewpoints. The main change that would be necessary to make was the changing vocabulary level that was used; it was too high for the reading age. After 1957, Rey started to have George resemble American children more, expressing greater anxiety and cautiousness before entering into his adventures right away. George grew up in a city, which was where children had the greatest fear that the world was going to end during the Cold War.

Another notable author of the 1950s was Dr. Seuss. One of his first books, *Horton Hears a Who*, was about a giant elephant named Horton, and he spends a majority of the storyline protecting the Who's that were located on a small speck of dust.<sup>53</sup> No one believes that the Who's are there because they cannot see or hear them, but Horton could hear them and knew they were there.<sup>54</sup>

This book can be interpreted in multiple ways, some of which are relatable; therefore, passing along a couple of different messages to young readers. Equality for all appeared to be one of the main messages, no matter how big or small, or their appearance, everyone should be treated equal. Horton firmly believes that the Who's need to be taken care of, whereas, the other characters did not care as much because the Who's were so small, they could not be seen.

Secondly, another message was about how abortion was wrong, and a "person is a person no matter how small."<sup>55</sup> With the increasing usage of contraceptives and the increased control of family size, abortion was beginning to be a hot topic in politics, especially among hospital staffs. Mothers that were seeking abortions were considered degraded in society for their lack of desire to be a responsible mother, even if they had other children and simply could not afford to bear another.<sup>56</sup> Prior to *Roe v. Wade* (1973), the only way an abortion would be performed was for medical reasons such as heart, neurological, lung, or blood disorders that were present in the mother that would ultimately harm her or the fetus; the mother had to be in harm's way in order for an abortion to be considered.<sup>57</sup>

After World War II, there was a significant decline in the number of abortions at hospitals, illustrating a societal trend of how important it was to sacrifice everything for one's child whether it was born or unborn.<sup>58</sup> Doctors were encouraged to think about social factors when making a diagnosis that could put a women's and baby's lives at risk.<sup>59</sup> Many of the doctors that were either approving the abortion or performing it were in fact, males, and many of them firmly believed that a "women's main role here on earth was conceiving, delivering, and raising children," Rickie Solinger pointed out in his article, "A Complete Disaster: Abortion and the Politics of Hospital Abortion Committees, 1950-1970." That was a common ideology for women in the 1950s; they were not capable to making a choice for themselves, and no matter what, they were expected to bear children. Prior to the war, pregnancy was sometimes viewed as



an additional burden on women; however, afterwards that dramatically changed, becoming a way for a woman to express her womanhood.<sup>60</sup>

Abortion and equality for all were two main themes in *Horton Hears a Who*. There is a kangaroo mother, who does not believe Horton when he claims that there are little people on this speck of dust.<sup>61</sup> She believes that Horton is crazy for thinking that there was a small town on this speck.<sup>62</sup> It is clear that she is for abortion; however, towards the end of the story, she realizes that there was a little town and helps Horton take care of them.<sup>63</sup> She was taught the lesson that everyone is equal and important; this is a lesson that also ties into the Civil Rights Movement and stresses that minorities were important and deserved to be treated equally.

Like Rey, Seuss started his next book, *The Cat in the Hat*, with the children being unsupervised; however, his story started out on a much gloomier note.<sup>64</sup> It was a rainy day; the children were left to tend to themselves.<sup>65</sup> The lack of adult stimulation during rainy days caused the children to find ways to entertain and educate themselves. Children in America would have, ideally, never gone unsupervised because a majority of mothers were stay-at-home moms; thus, they would have been able to play and stimulate the children on rainy days. The story focuses on a day spent by two unsupervised children that found different ways to entertain themselves through the guidance of characters such as the fish and the cat.

Unlike Rey's stories, children are given a conscious. The fish character in *The Cat and the Hat* was the narrator who instructed the children in the difference between right and wrong, particularly the wrong; he encouraged the children to realize that the cat should not be in their home.<sup>66</sup> This helps teach children to pay attention to their conscious; however, the children do not listen to the fish, and the house is turned into shambles.<sup>67</sup> The cat is a representation of a child's imagination.<sup>68</sup> He was able to supply "the basic need, exhibited by human and animal characters, is for play and adventure. There are no problems in solving such needs as long as creative ability lasts," according to Lystad.<sup>69</sup> The idea of having a necessity of imagination helps children grow and learn how to solve situations on their own; it teaches children how to access their imagination.

Luckily, the cat was responsible by using one of his creative machines to efficiently clean up the mess.<sup>70</sup> This imaginary machine resembles the new machines that had been introduced for the kitchen during the 1950s. President Nixon emphasized the new dishwashers that were put in American kitchens when he and Khrushchev were participating in the kitchen debates.<sup>71</sup> "In the model kitchen, in the model home, Nixon and Khrushchev revealed some basic assumptions of their two systems. Nixon called attention to a built in panel controlled washing machine. 'In America,' he said, 'these [washing machines] are designed to make things easier for women,'" May revealed.<sup>72</sup> The imaginative machine the cat used made clean up from the day's activities a snap for the children and the cat. Ultimately, it was easiest for the mother because she did not have to clean up a mess when she came home, so machines also made it easier for children to help around the house.

Both Rey and Seuss incorporated important social and political factors into their children's stories. These stories show what society believed and enforced as a whole, and what was to come for the future.

### Conclusion

The reality of society during the 1950s and the society of the children's literature do not necessarily match up perfectly. The ways in which the literature accurately reflected societal ideas includes generalization of gender roles, overall family structure, the ideal of perfection, and the Civil Rights Movement. If women were introduced in a story, they were portrayed as maternal figures; men were doing the work that women were not allowed to do, such as heavy lifting. The *Curious George* series showed this, as women were not introduced as leading characters; instead, they were secondary characters, often illustrated as performing housework, supervising their children, or running light errands. With the introduction of families, there was a mother, a father, and children; sometimes there was a family pet, but rarely a broken family. As many Americans moved to suburbia, the image of perfection became increasingly important as standards of living also increased. Yet, perfection was something that could not be accomplished, and many families sought help from their doctors, venting about disputes and issues with their children. Finally, more minorities were introduced into the literature, bringing a reflection of the success of the Civil Rights Movement.

Society is not perfect, especially during the 1950s. However, the popular literature failed to address another situation. There are children that grew up with both a mother and a father, but they may not have been the best parents in terms of teaching their children what they needed to know for life. The books helped teach children what they needed to know to be socially appropriate, especially the Dr. Seuss collection. In *Horton Hears a Who*, readers were taught about equality for everyone, no matter their size or appearance. In *The Cat in the Hat*, they are taught about their conscious and imagination. Finally, in *How the Grinch Stole Christmas*, children are taught about greed, which can make one ugly to his peers.

Many children also did not grow up with both parents present. During World War II, many of the soldiers did not return home, thus leaving a hole in the family. The books helped fill in the hole that was missing from their families, whether it helped bring them laughter or actually taught them something about their curiosity and adventure.

Some families were made up of different races and ethnicities. Adoption was increasing, especially for the Asian community because it was considered to be a way for the average American family to do its part to assist in the Cold War and foreign policy. The *Curious George* series was about an adopted foreign son and how the relationship between the caregiver and George changed over time, thus resulting in a closer family. *Curious George* also relieves the fears that most children had during the Cold War era. He taught them to be fearless and independent.

They were three major themes throughout the two collections of H. A. Rey and Dr. Seuss: equality, independence and acceptance. Equality was emphasized in the Dr. Seuss collection with Horton Hears a Who, where everyone was equal regardless of his or her size and appearance. Both Rey and Seuss encouraged independence through the lack of supervision. Children were able to run free and use their imaginations to come up with ways to solve boredom or problems that arose. Acceptance was a theme that both authors featured throughout their storylines. They taught children to accept all people no matter their family background or their appearance.

One could argue that the 1960s were an indirect outcome of the 1950s children's literature. Children were standing up for what they believed in, ultimately becoming independent and accepting all after being encouraged by H. A. Rey and Dr. Seuss. During the 1960's, two major events occurred: the ending of the Civil Rights Movement and the beginning of the Women's Rights Movement. The youth stood up for what they believed in; they knew that in order to have a better tomorrow, they would have to accept everyone, no matter of gender or race. These individuals had been influenced and encouraged through the literature of their youth.

Although children's literature does not always reflect every aspect of society, it does reflect important values and morals of society. The literature can also act as a predictor of what is to come in the future as a result of what the previous generation learned and then interpreted in the stories to be put into practice. Many of the books from the 1950s have continued to be used in America's current society, showing that the values and morals are still present in today's society.

## The Struggle Between Obsolescence and Cultural Acceptance

Melissa Moore

### Preface:

During the 1990s the climate toward pidgin and creole languages were typically stigmatized. In the next decade, this negative connotation has ebbed and given way to greater cultural acceptance. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, effort has been made to preserve these contact languages. As most of my sources arise from the 1990s or before, they portray a predominantly declining view of pidgins and creoles.

Currently there are more than 6,000 languages spoken<sup>1</sup> across the globe. Even amidst rampant globalization, not everyone is well versed in the opulent English tongue. Thus so, the practice and formation of contact languages are still in use. We often think of contact languages as lingua francas. The term, lingua franca, generally has come to "cover any language used as a means of communication among people of different language backgrounds."<sup>2</sup> However, its original capitalized form, Lingua Franca, has a much more specific definition than the modern connotation of today. Lingua Franca is the earliest known documented contact language. This pidgin was used between Western crusaders and Eastern Mediterranean traders during the Middle Ages, and was most notably named after the French, who were the dominant ethnic group among the crusaders.<sup>3</sup> Today, the terminology of contact languages has changed toward its more modern form: pidgins and creoles. However, as pidgins and creoles are still used globally, they are in a constant battle between obsolescence and cultural acceptance. With so many odds against the use of pidginized and creolized languages, it seems like a matter of time before these linguistic creations cease to exist.

A pidgin is a collaboration between two or more languages to formulate a simplified "make-shift"<sup>4</sup> language deemed for a specific purpose, or set of purposes. This "make-shift" language typically "comes into existence for a specific reason, lasts just as long as the situation that called it into being, and then goes quickly out of use."<sup>5</sup> Because pidgin languages are designed to relay a set agenda in a simplistic manner, they lack the complex grammatical structure found in full-fledged languages. For instance, many pidgin languages lack "the everyday necessities [such as]...articles, prepositions and auxiliary verbs [which] are either absent or appear sporadically in [an]...unpredictable fashion. Pidgin sentences [also lack]...subordinate clauses, and single-clause utterances frequently lack verbs."<sup>6</sup> Some notable pidgins include: Chinese Pidgin English (CPE), Pidgin Tok Pisin (also known as Melanesian Pidgin English/Neo-Melanesian), Russonorsk, and Australian Pidgin English.

Creoles, although interconnected with pidgins, are quite the opposite in thematic design. While pidgins focus on reducing and simplifying a set of languages, creoles are "characterized by expansion and elaboration"<sup>7</sup> of a pidgin that has been adopted by a group of peoples.<sup>8</sup> Well-known creoles include Antilles/French Creole (Haiti, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Louisiana), Hawaiian Creole English (HCE), Creole Tok Pisin (as Melanesian Creole English/Neo-Melanesian), and Bahasa Indonesia.

Language obsolescence, or language death, does not usually occur over a person's lifetime, but happens over multiple generations. It takes place "in unstable bilingual or multilingual speech communities as a result of language shift from a regressive minority language to a dominant majority language."<sup>9</sup> The new majority language is thus spoken by the culturally elite, with the minority language disintegrating out of use.<sup>10</sup> There are two types of language deaths: language suicide and language murder. In language suicide, "[the] less prestigious of two closely-related languages co-existing in a community progressively borrows words and constructions from the more prestigious language, until the two eventually become almost indistinguishable."<sup>11</sup> In turn, the older language essentially commits linguistic suicide by absorbing more material from the incoming language.<sup>12</sup> It is in the case of language suicide that decreolization occurs.

The creation of pidgin languages is usually designated for trading purposes and other situations in which minimal communication is warranted, such as between colonial master and slave. Because of this, pidgins and their creolized forms are held in low esteem. To the Europeans, "[Pidgin and creole] use was associated with stupidity and childishness."<sup>13</sup> Even in the context of their slaves and laborers being well versed in multiple languages, they were still thought to be intellectually inferior.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, these western colonizers judged good sense "by the ability to speak English."<sup>15</sup> Therefore, pidgin and creole speakers consequently fell below the bar and stayed that way for many years to come.<sup>16</sup>

With this onset of stigmatization, pidgins and creoles have been wrought with a disdainful standing. Former European colonies, now independent nations, are still as highly stratified as they were before. Past social dynamics between master and slave exist much the same today; but simply the class names have changed into the elite and the peasantry. As most of these former colonies have been granted independence, many are still not up to the level of the development as the leading American, West European, and East-Asian countries. Thus, the educational and professional spheres are still rather segregated. For example, in the educational sphere of the former French colony of Haiti, teachers who taught in French had difficulty in relaying information to their predominantly lower-status, creole-speaking students. Another example concerning Haiti entails the judicial and legislative systems. Before 1961, French was the only language permissible in the law courts, which reduced the ordinary peasant to rely on an able-French speaking lawyer, who could easily take advantage of their client.<sup>17</sup> Similarly before 1961, "the laws...were

of course always formulated in French,"<sup>18</sup> also making the ordinary peasant ignorant of what was going on within the government and their nation as a whole. Both of these situations allowed for the ruling class to exploit the masses.<sup>19</sup> The educational and former judicial and legislative affairs are reminiscent of the Middle Ages, in which the two upper orders of society knew Latin, whereas the third order was only versed in the vernacular.

The long-standing prejudice against pidgin and creole languages has given their users a sense of "linguistic schizophrenia."<sup>20</sup> Linguistic schizophrenia is also "referred to...[as the] Modern Greek [term], diglossia 'being torn between two languages.'"<sup>21</sup> The sense of linguistic schizophrenia, or diglossia, is felt most noticeably within a bilingual (or multilingual) nation comprising of the pidgin or creole language alongside the mother language. This merging process is becoming ever present amongst the Guadeloupean and Martinican creoles. For instance, in these subsequent creoles, "to make the plural form of a noun the word 'se' is traditionally used. However, a growing number of people are beginning to use 'les,' the plural marker of the French language, when speaking creole."<sup>22</sup> Additionally, French pronunciation is also starting to play in the creole language. For instance, the Martinican and Guadeloupean "word for money, 'lahan,' which in the Creole speech of many Martinicans and...Guadeloupeans now sounds far closer to the French term... 'l'argent.'"<sup>23</sup> For both of these creoles, it seems in the following generations that they will further commit linguistic suicide.

Public schooling is a perfect avenue in which to shape the beliefs of the next generation. The government has a strong hold in shaping the cultural perspectives of their people. Therefore, without the government's full support, pidgin and creole languages will cease to be culturally important. For instance, in Guadeloupe and Martinique, creole is still predominantly excluded from classrooms and "after 1946, increasing numbers of the population were able to speak, read and write French, while Creole remained an oral language."<sup>24</sup> Likewise, in the last half-century, mass-education is becoming more accessible in Hawaii. This broader availability of education to Hawaiian inhabitants has created newfound exposure to English, and is merely a telltale calling for rampant decreolization amongst HCE speakers.<sup>25</sup> This same decreolizing pattern will most likely occur with other pidgin and creole speaking nations whose governments decide to leave these languages out of the classroom.

Urbanization also plays a key role in depidginization and decreolization. The rural way of life, more so, clings to preserving cultural history, but this is not the case in an urban environment. Moving from the rural to the urban setting, former agriculturists abandoned their backward customs to emulate the elite in hopes of being successful. This situation is found in Guadeloupe and Martinique. Both islands share a creolized oral literature, "that is closely related to the rural way of life, which is rapidly disappearing, due to a high level of urbanization and the diminishing importance of the agricultural sector for the islands' economies."<sup>26</sup>

Like urbanization, globalization also plays a key role in the demise of pidgins and creoles. For example, with the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, China has become more westernized. The younger generation and intellectuals being most exposed to this movement came to shun CPE as it was viewed unfavorably in the west, opting to learn the standard form instead.<sup>27</sup> Both urbanization and globalization go hand-in-hand in shaping the negative connotations of the pidgin and creole languages.

There are numerous factors that cause creoles and pidgins to become obsolete. However, there are some methods, which can be utilized to facilitate their survival as a cultural entity. In preserving the pidgin and creole languages one can preserve the cultural heritage. Vaudou (voodoo) "is purely a Haitian product...[being] born in Haiti, [it mixes]...elements from Africa with the saints of [Catholicism]."<sup>28</sup> As such it utilizes the Haitian Creole. Therefore, if vaudou is preserved then the language can certainly be preserved as well. Not too long ago, a law was passed in favor of a more positive perspective of the Haitian creole language. The law "recognized the existence of Creole and granted it legal status,"<sup>29</sup> and before this date, "Creole was deliberately barred from virtually all official recognition."<sup>30</sup>

In the Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, there has been an influx in the composition of literature to preserve creole cultural history. As the oral literature is dying out due to the rise of urbanization, cultural literary writers have taken up the pen in order to try and save their cultural history.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, in Martinique and Guadeloupe, creole is making headway in the entertainment industry. For instance, "it enjoys great popularity on the radio, and in certain television programs that reflect popular oral culture."<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, these media outlets are advantageous in the effect that they can proliferate exposure of creole to the whole nation in a positive light.<sup>33</sup>

In the southeastern hemisphere, pidgins and creoles have experienced a tremendous success rate. For instance, the island of Papua New Guinea, home of the pidgin and now creolized version of Tok Pisin (now referred to as Neo-Melanesian), utilizes its creole as one of its officially recognized languages. During the German occupation of the island, from the Imperial Era to 1914, the government had shown little discrimination and has utilized the Pidgin for administrative purposes.<sup>34</sup> In similar fashion, Neo-Melanesian is used as the common language between a multi-lingual classroom "and has served successfully as a vehicle for arithmetic, geography, and social studies."<sup>35</sup> Likewise, Neo-Melanesian has also been used by natives to write cultural literature and folk tales.<sup>36</sup> It is apparent that on this island that the creole language and culture will be able to avoid the endangerment of disappearing.

The success of New Guinea/Papua New Guinea has also spread to the Indonesian archipelago. Formally controlled by the Dutch, these areas used a pidginized version of Malay called Bazaar Malay. While under European control, the Dutch separated themselves from the inhabitants by barring them from learning Dutch, insisting that Bazaar Malay be the only means of communication between Dutch and natives. However,

the linguistic caste separation backfired, and Bazaar Malay was used as a medium for national independence.<sup>37</sup> Once independence was gained, the pidgin became deliberately creolized into Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesia Language), "and made into the vehicle of national culture."<sup>38</sup>

Even though the southeastern hemisphere revels in the success of pidgin and creole use, if these languages are not strong enough, they too can be swallowed by the Western world. Similarly, is the case in which pidgins and creoles are looked down upon in an unfavorable light. Although creoles are making headway into being accepted in the Caribbean through modernization, this avenue could also help accelerate their demise. Since most of the Caribbean islands still harbor a linguistic stigma toward their creole languages, radio and TV programs can become utilized to spread the elitist favor for the superstrate language. Furthermore, if pidgins and creoles are not taught side by side with the dominant language both orally and in written form, the language will eventually become obsolete. A peoples' language and writing system are only viable if the people who use it are strong in preserving their cultural history. Like in Indonesia and in Papua New Guinea, they hold onto their pidgin and creole, and consider them as a source of national identity. If the Caribbean were to reevaluate their cultural and national identity, then perhaps their creoles will stray from the path of obsolescence.

### Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> John Baines, Jerold Cooper, & Stephen Houston, "Script Obsolescence in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Mesoamerica," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 3 (2003): 433.
- <sup>2</sup> Robert A. Hall, *Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 3-4.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>4</sup> Hall, *Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 127.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibid., 126.
- <sup>6</sup> William S.Y. Wang, *Emergence of Language: Development and Evolution*, (New York: W.H. Freeman, 1991), 63.
- <sup>7</sup> April M.S. McMahon, *Understanding Language Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 260.
- <sup>8</sup> Hall, *Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 126.
- <sup>9</sup> McMahon, *Understanding Language Change*, 284.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid., 285.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid., 287.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>13</sup> Merle Collins, "Writing and Creole Language Politics: Voice and Story," in *Caribbean Creolization*, ed. Kathleen M. Balutansky and Marie-Agnès Sourieau, (Florida: University Press of Florida, 1998), 94-5.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>17</sup> Hall, *Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 142, 140.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid., 140.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>20</sup> Hall, *Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 131.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>22</sup> Jane Brooks, "Challenges to Writing Literature in Creole: the Cases of Martinique and Guadeloupe," in *An Introduction to Caribbean Francophone Writing: Guadeloupe and Martinique*, ed. Sam Haigh (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 125.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>24</sup> Brooks, "Challenges to Writing Literature in Creole: the Cases of Martinique and Guadeloupe," 123.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid., 132.
- <sup>27</sup> Hall, *Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 9.
- <sup>28</sup> Jean Métellus, "The Process of Creolization in Haiti and the Pitfalls of the Graphic Form," in *Caribbean Creolization*, edited Kathleen M. Balutansky and Marie Agnès Sourieau (Florida: University Press of Florida, 1999), 123.
- <sup>29</sup> Hall, *Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 140.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Brooks, "Challenges to Writing Literature in Creole: the Cases of Martinique and Guadeloupe," 132.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Hall, *Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 135.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 135.

<sup>37</sup> Hall, *Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 135, 144.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 18.

## The Medieval Friars in Literature and History

John Stachura

Composing the *Canterbury Tales* from the background of estate satire, Chaucer treated the typical friar as a comedic type, a stock character whose behavior violated his religious vows. In "The Prologue," Friar Hubert illustrated an example of the friar as scoundrel. Antifraternalism was a campaign organized in attack against the friars, and the treatment of friars in estate satire may have contributed to that assault. A student of medieval literature would not encounter any other kind of friar than the typical stock character; readers would have the impression that all friars at this time were corrupt. However, that impression is erroneous. At the time, Chaucer and his contemporaries were writing about "wanton" friars, the living followers of St. Francis were leading exemplary lives. Chaucer's "Friar" was a victim of Antifraternalism. This paper intends to trace the evolution of Chaucer's attitude, which developed from documents in 13<sup>th</sup> century Paris, through a best selling book of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, *Le Roman de la Rose*, to the criticism of Wyclif in England. The history of the image of a friar illustrates a political coup.

Almost fifty years after the Church documented its official approval, the legitimacy of the orders of friars was called into question. Two religious ministries debated the purity of their mission. One institute expressed the traditional role of the secular clergy; the friars constituted the second. Scholastic masters from the ranks of secular clergy questioned the friars' standing on the redemptive role of Jesus Christ, papal infallibility, the charisms of begging and poverty, and the question of traditional authority. Fundamentally, the dispute raged over tradition and change. The traditional-minded secular clergy charged the friars with hypocrisy, telling stories about them with scathing satire derive from the Bible. The secular clergy expected the typical friar to serve his calling with absolute purity, followers of St. Francis of Assisi. The secular clerics treated the friars as the beggars they pretended to be, men of no estate or status.

It started as a university quarrel, but its ramifications resonated throughout the known world. Good will between the two major groups of religions was at stalemate. So-called upstart friars and the so-called stalwart clergy teaching at the University of Paris had drawn the line of no return. A secular cleric and the foremost master of scared scripture in his day, William of Saint-Amour in 1256 published a treatise called *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*, "The Dangers of the Last Times." Its tenets would annul the orders of friars. A biblical expert, St. Amour, is considered the father of Antifraternalism. Its strongest champion, he

sought the support of Louis IX, king of France, and Pope Alexander IV. Comprised of the foremost scholastics of the Church, the University of Paris attracted many students. The faculty also included notable friars: St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventure, St. Albert the Great, and other friars like Roger Bacon, Alexander of Hales, and John Duns Scotus – each a member of an Order marked by mendicancy. When Antifraternalism erupted in the lecture halls of the University of Paris, scandal shook the entire western world. A power struggle evolved between the secular clergy and the friars. Since the friars attracted many students to their lectures, they requested permission to teach more sections. The secular clergy, traditional guardians of Church doctrine and the magisterium of the University, however, decided not to change faculty assignments. The situation reenacted the classic struggle between tradition and change.<sup>1</sup>

Over a millennium, the traditional clergymen had developed certain conventions, but the friars presented a threat to their chairs and to their sources of income. The way of life espoused by the Franciscan friars was based on the vow of poverty. Being very attractive, future lawyers and professors flocked to its simple life. The secular clergy connected the friars with disturbing signs involving heresy, papal infallibility, and the apocalypse. The attack began when St. Amour ridiculed the apocalyptic prophecy posted by the Abbot Joachim of Fiore, a Benedictine Monastery. The Abbot had predicted that the friars from the two great mendicant orders were destined to take over the Church and run it. Hundreds of men were joining the mendicant apostolate. Franciscan friar Gerard of San Bonino was the self-proclaimed herald of what seemed to be a new world order. The Abbot's prediction contained notable errors, but it was just what the enemies of the friars wanted. The friars were identified with the false ministers in scripture whose activities according to St. Paul signaled the last-times.

William attacked the friars for reaching above their estate. Most friars were like St. Francis: humble, reverential, not professionally trained. St. Amour regarded them in terms of biblical symbols that became stock material in literature and in preaching about the estates. Since they were living like beggars, he portrayed the friars with contempt. Like the Pharisees, St. Amour said, friars were pretentious and money-mad pseudo-evangelists. He published forty-two theses to prove that pseudo-ministers a.k.a. friars, spelled evil. Quoting the Bible, he said friars are recognized from their evil actions.

His allegations supplied sensational fiction to the best selling book of the Middle Ages: *Le Roman de La Rose*. Copies of this poem were being transcribed even in the monasteries, as well as for the plot of the sensational book of the twentieth century, *The Name of the Rose*. These narratives displayed the ramifications of a change versus tradition debate in a monastic setting. St. Amour affirmed that friars were anti-types to symbols of biblical hypocrites. He centered his condemnation of all friars on the criteria of first-century biblical religious ministers: the hypocritical rabbis, scribes, and Pharisees whom Christ condemned with

the octuplex "Woes" recorded in Matthew 23:1-28, "Woe to you, scribes, and Pharisees, hypocrites," etc. He allied the friars with evil biblical figures whom he destroyed with biblical citations. His militancy was impressive.

St. Amour litigated a point of law concerning the very institution of the mendicant orders. He informed Pope Alexander IV that his predecessors were in error when they sanctioned the mendicant orders. To be approved, a religious institute must demonstrate a solid financial foundation. The financial foundation of the mendicant orders was zero, and friars anticipated supporting themselves with alms. St. Amour registered a blatant charge that intimated that the Pope was not infallible. The next step heard the debate between Thomas Aquinas and St. Amour. Bonaventure published a treatise called *A Defense of the Mendicants*, in which he elaborated on the spirituality of the simple life of a friar.<sup>2</sup> St. Amour, the secular cleric master, avoided deference to the appeal of Francis of Assisi, the inspiration of an army of men who learned to live simply. He ignored the significance of the fresco that Giotto had painted in Assisi depicting the dream that Innocent III related: he saw a little man dressed in friars' garb, holding the Church upright on his shoulder; he was preventing it from teetering.

The faculty members of the University of Paris considered themselves entirely capable of making decisions and resolving school business, but the debate was spreading beyond the walls of the school. In the light of the Joachim debacle, the secular faculty charged the friars with heresy and attacked them. The secular clergy and the friars were engaged in a pamphlet war, and the new pope, John XXII, reviewed the teachings of Christ on poverty. The University debate led to the execution by fire of four Franciscan friars the Pope condemned for disobedience. Only after some members of the secular clergy came over and took up the Dominican or Franciscan habit did the bitter antipathy begin to diminish.

To St. Amour, the friars were nothing but pseudo-ministers who deserved Christ's anathema. To the popes, the friars served the Church well, comprising the first line of attack against heresies and civil disorders. After six years, Pope Alexander brought closure. He ordered that the original tract be burned and its author excommunicated. St. Amour appealed to the French royalty for support; Louis IX, however, recently returned from Saracen captivity, exiled St. Amour. The chief spokesperson for the antifraternal movement acquired the coveted status of fallen hero: Students who admired him toasted his leadership and toasted him in tavern songs.

The next level was conducted in the pages of *Le Roman de la Rose*, a medieval romance that illustrated the effects of trust. Its author, Jean de Meun, affirmed this intention in the closing lines of his allegory, where he apprised his readers of the corruption at all levels of trust in society. This novel-length poem was so popular that Chaucer, ever the astute businessman, eagerly translated it into English. The identity of the allegorical agent of distrust was made out to be a friar because a woodcut depicting deceit revealed a person wearing the robes of a Dominican friar, someone associ-

ated with an infamous role in the Inquisition. The name of the allegory was aptly named Fals Semblant. Readers revered to him as an evil friar representing deceit. The poem had nothing to do with friars. Fals Semblant was the name of the symbol that satirized deceit. In a confessional expose, this character described himself as the villain of the piece. Adapting the allegory, Chaucer created the Pardoner. The original symbol was a take on Matthew 23:1-28, where Christ condemned deceit, but St. Amour connected it with the ministry of the 13<sup>th</sup> century friars. To make sure the point was established, Gui de Nori, a Benedictine monk, composed some 90 lines of his own complaints against the friars and inserted them into his copies of the transcription known as the Langlais Manuscript used by Chaucer. Allegations concerning the venality of the friars were firmly established.<sup>3</sup>

Reading like a confessional, Chaucer's Friar Hubert was satirized as a lovable rascal. His figure, nevertheless, personified a symbol that demonstrated the major flaws of friars that St. Amour had condemned 200 years earlier. Not a real historic person, Friar Hubert's fictional character served to personify everything that was alleged to be deceitful about the friars' ministry. Probably none of the descriptors Chaucer used were based on his own eyewitness account. Skillful as he was, he would apparently mull over allegations derived from the antifraternality tradition, and apply irony and verisimilitude. To stock conventions, he added commonplace observations preserved in estate literature. Chaucer's friar was the sum total of satire by inflation. Iconography portrayed in church assembled the same approach and identified the friars with seven capital sins.

Chaucer built the masterful fiction around the first two of William's theses: "true apostles neither penetrate homes nor lead captive silly women laden with sins," and the second, "evil ministers deceive the hearts of simple men." What sounded like remarkable antifraternality craftsmanship occurred in one of Chaucer's tales.

"The Summoner's Tale," written probably in 1387, described one day in the life of a Carmelite friar, the lead man on a begging team.<sup>4</sup> The narrator, an archrival of the friar, portrayed the viewpoint of the secular clergy. Establishing the tone of the narrative with a scatological plot, he told his tale objectively and realistically from an omniscient third person point-of-view. Masterfully, he demonstrated the theses, which St. Amour argued. The friar assumed control of the wife and her household, but he failed to get any money from the man of the house. In an act of desperation, the friar was subjected to profound humiliation. Chaucer made the story sound quite true; it has been at the head of samples of what critics mean when they charge that nothing good can be said about friars.

All the other medieval poems about the friars in England were anonymous and equally antifraternality. Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman* was an exception. He openly urged that the Orders of Friars be reduced to their original status as beggars. Concluding with an awesome apocalypse, his poem demonstrated how a pseudo-friar named Sir Penetrans

Domos, a symbol of evil that William had created, abused the confessional. Langland fictionalized how friars undermined the Church.

All poems based on the antifraternality tradition bitterly repeated vile comments about the friars. The poems are brief; doggerel at best, they profess polemic at worst. They all repeat the same disclosures even with the same wording. Sermons by the Primate of England, Archbishop FitzRalph, and by the heretical leader of the Lollards, John Wyclif, plied their fiery sermons with antifraternality symbols; their ravings can be tied to the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII in another two hundred years.

In real life, the simple people, the lower classes of society, the minores, valued the friars' ministry. Chaucer preserved the same truth in "The Friar's Tale." "Mendicants clearly held a firm, and, in many ways, a positive place in the popular imagination," the historian Carolly Erickson concluded. "This is a fact," she continued, "which no historian of the Franciscans in this period can afford to ignore."<sup>5</sup> The churches of the friars were popular burial sites, where people thought they would garner easier access to heaven. Many records indicate that generous legacies were willed to the friars for blessings received, even by members of the secular clergy.

Looking back over 800 years of ministry, the friars continue to serve in foreign lands and in our own cities counseling, sanctifying, teaching, and giving examples of the spirituality exemplified by the brotherhood of all God's creatures. Other classical writers of English—Shakespeare, Byron, Browning, Chesterton, Eliot, and others—celebrate the heroic simplicity with which the friars have been endowed.<sup>6</sup>



## Endnotes

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## German Occupation of Eastern Europe during World War II

Ryan Williams

In June 1941, Nazi Germany launched the largest military offensive in history, Operation Barbarossa, an invasion of the Eastern Frontier of the Soviet Union. Planning for this strategy can be traced to the writings in Adolf Hitler's autobiography *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle). In this book, Hitler explained his political ideology in both his belief in "Lebensraum," the term used to refer to an expansion of land for the German people, and "untermenschen", a racial term used to describe the Russian Slavs. Hitler believed that once the Russian Bolsheviks and Slavs were annihilated, the Russian state would collapse and the Third Reich could use Russia for living space, as well as a natural resource supply. Hitler wrote, "Destiny itself seems to wish to point out the way for us here. This colossal empire in the East is ripe for dissolution, and the end of the Jewish domination in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state."<sup>1</sup> Henceforth, plans were made to invade the Soviet Union with the goal of toppling the Slavic, Communist government, exterminating the Slavic people, and expanding the Nazi population and culture into Russia. Operation Barbarossa, if successful, would provide slave labor for the Third Reich, and allow complete military concentration on the Western Front; specifically the invasion of the British Isles. On June 22, 1941, the Axis powers launched their preemptive strike of the Soviet Union with an invasion of Soviet controlled Poland. The attack was launched with "blitzkrieg" oriented style, involving the attack of the Luftwaffe, followed by armored divisions supported by infantry. The goal of the "blitzkrieg" was a lightning style attack that not only caught the enemy off guard, but also provided a large mobile force that prevented enemy reinforcements. The "blitzkrieg" on the Eastern Frontier was divided into three forces, one attacking from the north, one from the south, and one from the center. The initial attacks resembled the punctuality and effectiveness of the Wehrmacht's victories on the Western Frontier. As the Wehrmacht began advancing into Ukraine and the Baltic region, they experienced obstacles that were not present on the Western Frontier. Omer Bartov explains in *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich*:

"Once 'Barbarossa' was launched, however, the striking imbalance between the Ostheer's modern and obsolete elements, already evident in the western campaign, could no longer be bridged due to the much greater spaces of Russia."<sup>2</sup>

The division of the German army resulted in difficulty with supplies lines. The Eastern Frontier that needed to be defended stretched over 1,800 miles causing insufficient supplies to the German divisions. The Panzer armored divisions advanced much more rapidly over this vast Russian Frontier compared to the Western Frontier, and the division of the German force resulted

in an ineffectiveness of the "blitzkrieg" strategy. Eventually Russian summer rains set in, flooding the plains, causing large mudslides, and preventing large amounts of supplies from reaching the front. The German army was forced to resort to horse-drawn transportation for their supply wagons, which in addition to the vast frontier, caused frustration and hunger on the front line. The slack of the "blitzkrieg" caused Hitler to rethink his strategy of an all out blitz on Moscow. Hitler divided his force once more, and pushed the northern section toward the industrial center of Leningrad. The southern forces and half of the center forces pushed in for an assault on Kiev in the south. With a siege inevitable at Leningrad, and operations in Kiev almost complete, Hitler organized his forces for an all out assault on Moscow.

The assault on Moscow was an effective move that brought the Nazi armies within fifteen miles of the Soviet capital. With the sack of Moscow with reach, winter began to set in and decimated the ill-prepared Wehrmacht. With the arrival of winter, the Red Army launched a counter-offensive, which began to push the Germans back from the capital. The Red Army's offensive chased the retreating Germans through the snow-covered Russian countryside. The hasty retreat, the unbearable weather, and the onslaught of the Russians caused a breakdown of the German army. Bartov refers to this breakdown in two categories: that of demodernization of the army, and the destruction of the "primary group." Demodernization is the inability to use tanks, air forces, and technological advances that were present in the blitzkrieg attack and the demotion to trench warfare on the Eastern Front reminiscent of the war strategy of World War I. The concept of "primary groups" refers to the cohesion or banning together of members in a combat unit that proved to be an effective strategy employed by the Wehrmacht. A soldier's "primary group" consisted of peers from the same locality who have both trained and fought together in the early stages of war. A "primary group" gave a soldier something to fight for. He fought for his friends in the group, for their similar locality, and to protect each other. With the horrid conditions on the Eastern Front, these primary groups began to break down. Familiar officers and fellow combatants were being killed all along the Russian countryside. Bartov describes:

"Once disruption of primary group life resulted through separation, breaks in communications, loss of leadership, depletion of personal or major and prolonged break in the supply of food and medical care, such an ascendancy of preoccupation with physical survival developed..."<sup>13</sup>

The soldiers who were motivated by their cohesion now were driven by a simple desire for self-survival. The de-modernization of the army left them with a lack of supplies, and the dissolution of their "primary groups" left them without companions. The Wehrmacht were taking losses so high that brigades were losing over half their officers and men. Soldiers were taking part in battle with no commanders to lead them and "casualties among officers were so high that by mid-July six battalion commanders were dead or wounded."<sup>14</sup> The "primary group" was becoming an after-thought; it was a characteristic of the old German

that Lowenkamp's punishment technique involved "a steel box built which was so small that one could hardly stand in it. He locked foreigners in the box...up to 48 hours without giving the people food."<sup>12</sup> Lowenkamp's deputy Gehrlach also punished the prisoners with the same techniques as his supervisor. Hofer explained how a Russian girl was in need of shoes to be able to work. Upon hearing this, Gehrlach "caught hold of the girl and locked her in the cupboard saying 'have you Bolsheviks anything to say now?' This was Saturday morning. The girl had to stay in the cupboard until Monday evening."<sup>13</sup> These accounts give us insight into the German habit of pinpointing the Russians as their main target of punishment in the camps. The ideology of the Slavs as an inferior race left no feeling of regret during the punishment of these prisoners. These accounts also reveal that the punishment of the Russians was not as much based on an order from Higher Command but a personal vendetta with the Slavic population. The introduction of the solitary confinement props such as the steel box and the cupboard were personal and the result of motivated creativity employed in Higher Command orders to punish prisoners. Also, the fact that these acts were committed not only by the Supervisor but also by his deputy reveal that it was not an order from a superior to a lower officer, it was an initiative taken by both the deputy and the supervisor in the creative punishment of the Russians.

During the Nuremberg Trials, the testimony of Roman Rudenko provides the source of evidence for most of the war crimes against Russian POWs and the Soviet Union. Roman Rudenko was a Soviet General and is the main prosecutor for the Soviets at the Nuremberg Trials. Rudenko's testimonies are biased against the Germans due to his involvement as a Soviet General; however, they do offer a plethora of statistical evidence and examples of torture, and murder of more than three million Soviet POWs. Rudenko spoke of the inhumane torture of Soviet prisoners who were "tortured with red-hot irons, their eyes were gouged out, their extremities severed, et cetera."<sup>14</sup> He then resorted to the limitations and guidelines that were put on the treatment of POWs during The Hague Convention in 1907 and the violations of these international laws committed by the Nazis. The Nazis "stabbed and shot on the spot defenseless, sick, and wounded Red Army soldiers who were in the camps; they raped hospital nurses and medical aid women, and brutally murdered members of the medical personnel."<sup>15</sup> He also described:

"Many Soviet prisoners of war were shot or hanged while others perished from hunger and infectious diseases, from cold, and from torture systematically employed by the Germans according to a plan which was developed beforehand and had as its object the mass extermination of Soviet persons..."<sup>16</sup>

Rudenko's testimony was very anti-Nazi; however, it also provided insight into the Russian feeling towards the Nazi. This document reveals that he believed the extermination of the Soviet prisoners was a predetermined

plan correlating to the statements made by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*. His anger and hatred towards the Nazi is a result of the atrocities they committed, and their destruction of his country, which he described:

"The German armies and occupational authorities, carrying out the orders of the criminal Hitlerite Government and of the High Command of the Armed Forces, destroyed and looted Soviet towns and villages and industrial establishments and collective farms seized by them; destroyed works of art, demolished, stole and removed to Germany machinery, stocks of raw and other materials and finished goods, art and historic treasures, and carried out the general plundering of the urban and rural population."<sup>17</sup>

In this statement, he revealed that he believed it was the orders of Hitler's Government that resulted in the massive destruction in the Soviet Union. This implies that it was not personal motivation to loot the countryside but instead it was an order coming from Berlin that needed to be followed. Rudenko used this information to explain that the blame should be put on the High Command of the Third Reich and not on the individual soldiers who were following orders. Rudenko's testimony offers insight into the argument that this paper will aim to defend. He revealed that his hatred for the Nazis was because of the atrocities that they committed against POWs and the Russian population.

The atrocities have been documented in other sources as well as the government documents, which were discussed above. A German private, Willy Peter Reese, recalls situations in which crimes were committed against the Russians during his time fighting on the Eastern Front. For instance, there was an incident in which a German "doled out boxes of hand grenades among a hundred captured Russian prisoners and shot the survivors with his submachine gun."<sup>18</sup> Also he describes an incident in which he found only a few isolated Red Army soldiers in buildings. "They were shot; an order had been given not to take any prisoners."<sup>19</sup> Throughout his journal, Reese offered accounts of these war crimes, but he does not however feel any remorse for committing them. He was more concerned with staying alive and defending himself against the weather and the Red Army. This reveals that the duty to carryout orders of taking no prisoners and the murder of Russians did not sway his emotions in the slightest. He also was not distraught at the actions of his fellow soldier who threw grenades into a group of Russian prisoners and then shot the rest of them with his machine gun. Reese does not talk about hatred towards the Russians or an ideological goal he had to reach, but just speaks of following orders from the higher command and describes events in which Russians were murdered. This reveals that Reese, however, did have ideological feelings; he was already implanted as a member of "Hitler's Army" and he did not know it. He felt no remorse at killing an inferior Slav or witnessing the executions of a group of defenseless Russian prisoners. This document defends Bartov's argument that the army was transformed after the destruction of "primary groups" into an ideological army even if they did not realize it themselves.

The crimes committed against the Russian army and the Russian populace had more of an effect than the destruction of the Soviet infrastructure, and extermination of millions of Russians. These crimes became a spark for the counter-offensive of the Red Army. The will and power of the Russians shown in the Crimea, at Leningrad, and at Stalingrad are examples of how the transformation of the German army resulted in a transformation of the Red Army. The defense of the Fatherland and the pride of the Russian people were main factors for Russian soldiers going into battle. However, they also transformed themselves into a unit that had a common hatred for the German. The Red Army became an emotionally driven force that was intent on destroying the Nazi state. The crimes committed by the Nazis united the Soviet Union on their drive towards Berlin. A Russian soldier declared after the battle of Stalingrad; "Good-bye, our friends, lie in peace in the land soaked with the blood of our people. We are going west and our duty is to avenge your death."<sup>20</sup> This account of the battle of Stalingrad reveals the feeling and motivation that Russians had towards a push westward with a determination to destroy the Nazi regime.

At the time of Operation Barbarossa, the U.S.S.R. was a divided land. It covered many different groups, which shared little in common ethnically, culturally, or religiously. However, with the oncoming of the Nazi occupation and the invasion of the Eastern countryside, these ethnically diverse groups organized into a united front against the Fascists. Even political ideologies were set aside. Communists and their opposition were united against the Wehrmacht. A Russian woman described this change in her account of the German invasion:

"Those who welcomed the Germans as liberators came to realize instead of freeing the Soviet population from Bolshevik bondage, the Germans were conducting an Aryan crusade to enslave the *untermenschen*. Nor did the Germans' brutal treatment of populations in the territories they occupied help with this."<sup>21</sup>

The German "Aryan crusade" turned the entire Soviet populace against them. The Russian Nationalists could have easily been turned into partisan allies, but the pride of the Slavic people and their love and devotion to their homeland turned them against the Third Reich. The destruction of the Soviet infrastructure and enslavement of the Slavic people became crucial mistakes made by Nazi military and political strategists. German officer Brautigam noticed in his investigation of the German work camps that the Nazi "political policy has forced both Bolsheviks and Russian Nationalists in to a common front against us."<sup>22</sup> The Nazi strategy had forced a united Soviet Union, which would transform itself into an intense and formidable opponent.

The initial anger of the Nazi invasion eventually would turn into a strong hatred for the Nazi. Russians became an emotionally fueled people that saw the Germans as evil Fascists coming from the West to not only enslave but to completely destroy their beloved homeland. Soviet Officer Sergei Biryuzov was involved in the Soviet campaign to free the Crimean Peninsula from

the Germans. The Battle of the Crimea was launched in 1944 with several Soviet offensives that eventually pushed the Wehrmacht out of Sevastopol and back into Southern Ukraine. Biryuzov witnessed the Nazi occupation policies in the Ukraine and how it had affected the morale of his troops.

“What the Nazis were perpetrating in the Ukraine dwarfed by its ruthlessness and atrocity anything I had seen before. An upsurge of strong hatred was rising among our people at the sight of all that waste and ruin.”<sup>23</sup>

As a Soviet officer, Biryuzov was watching the hatred engulfing his troops as they witnessed the ruthlessness of the Nazis across the Ukrainian countryside and their reaction to the “sight of all that waste and ruin.” He also recalled that this was not a single occurrence of Nazi atrocity in which his unit witnessed:

“We saw such incidents everywhere and they left deep scars on our hearts. We not only realized with our mind but keenly felt in our hearts that resolute actions could no longer be put off.”<sup>24</sup>

The continuous occurrence of Nazi atrocities began to weigh heavily on the hearts of the Soviet soldiers. As Biryuzov described, they could no longer let these immoral actions go unpunished. Their hate for the German was rising and spreading among the Russian people. Even the Upper Command of the Red Army was experiencing these feelings. The Red Army became a force with a goal of not only liberating the Soviet Union, but also destroying the force, which was tearing their countryside apart.

The hatred for the German was spreading across Russia and became a characteristic of the fighting will of not only the Red Army but also by sailors in the Red Navy. In a *New York Times* article written by Ralph Parker during his stay in Moscow, Parker interviewed two Russian sailors who had just returned from defense of the beaches at Sevastopol during the Battle of Crimea. The two sailors spoke of their experiences and the devastation caused by the Nazis on the Crimean soil. They also elaborated on the hate for the German that is stirring among the Russian people. The sailors understood that the Nazis had a different ideology towards them than they did towards populations on the Western Frontier. They explained it as “Gentlemen in the West and beasts in the East- that is the German plan as seen from here. And it is cunning, for what has frustrated the Germans in the East is Russian hatred.”<sup>25</sup> The Russians understood what the German intent and ideology was, and they realized that fighting with hatred was the way to defeat them. This document reveals that the Nazis’ made their ideology and intentions well known in the eastern territories. The Russians knew that they had to respond with an agenda, as the Russian sailor explained:

“Only when people are infused with hatred, only when they reach the pit of fury that the very mention of the enemy causes the urge to kill or to work with desperate energy to make arms to kill can they reach the temp and spirit with which Hitler can be beaten.”<sup>26</sup>

The hatred that developed was realized to be a necessity, it was a natural response to the Nazi occupation and it was molded and shaped by the Russian people as a reason to fight. The Russians realized that in order to defeat Hitler they needed to fight with a Russian spirit of hate to become victorious.

The hatred that was infused into the Red Army eventually extended to the entire population. If the population did not fight and work for the Russian cause, the Red Army could not be sufficiently supplied. In Parker’s article, the Russian sailors explained how the war must be fought on the Home Front as well. The hate must be present in the Russian people as well as the Russian army:

“No second front can succeed unless both in the Army and at home the enemy is hated so violently and constantly that the effort to conquer will surge forth and overcome all obstacles. That is how Moscow sees it”<sup>27</sup>

The document reveals that the Kremlin and Soviet government knew that they could use the hate of the German as propaganda towards mobilizing the Russian populace. Along with witnessing German atrocities and anti-Nazi propaganda, hate was put in the hearts of the Russian people who not only fought as partisans but also became supplying force of the Red army by their wartime production. When the Red Army finally pushed the Nazis from the western borders of Nazi occupied Russia, they were greeted with adoration upon their liberation. The Red army became a sight to be embraced instead of feared by the Western populace. A machine gunner chasing the retreating German army recalls the welcome the populace gave the liberating Red Army as those who “... weep, they hug us, everyone brings us whatever they can.” The reason for the people’s joy was obvious. “I’ve seen how the German burns villages, the bitch. I’ve seen the victims of his violence.”<sup>28</sup> This document offers another example of the united front against the Nazis. The destruction of the Russian countryside stirred hate in every Russian’s heart and they waited for the liberating Communist force, which they once opposed. They realized how horrific the Nazis were and many Russians felt that “it was better to die than to live under the Germans.”<sup>29</sup> The hatred became a part of the lives of the Russians soldiers and populace, so much that killing Fascists became a sense of pride and accomplishment. The Russian sailors interviewed in Parker’s article lived through the war believing that “Every day you don’t kill a German is a day wasted.”<sup>30</sup> This mentality grew into a life goal of destroying the Nazis and driving them out of Russia. In his excerpts from the front, a Soviet soldier explained that, “The most important thing in my life- I have killed several fascists.”<sup>31</sup> The destruction of the Nazi became a personal vendetta for every Russian. This is what made their force so formidable and almost suicidal. Russians would fight until the last breath of air had left their body just in the hope of killing another Fascist soldier. A *New York Times* article, written by Percival Knauth in 1941 provided an accurate and precise summary of the fighting will of Russian Soldier.

“The Russians fight with courage and hatred- hatred which inspires them to play dead for hours in hope of killing one more German before they die;

hatred which keeps them fighting hand-to-hand in the nethermost depths of their underground forts when the Nazis have destroyed all resistance above; hatred which turns each retreat into a desperate counter-attack.”<sup>32</sup>

This newspaper excerpt provides the perfect description of how the Russians conducted themselves in their counter offensive against the Fascists. They were so overwhelmed by hatred that they would risk their own lives just for the chance to kill another German. They would provide so much resilience that even after constant bombardment and attack they were still standing to fight. Their hatred provided for their resistance and strong will power. The Third Reich's policies in Russia created this formidable fighting force, which fought not with Communism in their hearts but with a love of their country and hatred towards anything associated with Nazi Germany. The destruction of their countryside, the torture of Russian POWs, the *undermenschen* ideology, all created the hate filled Red Army. It was Hitler's mistakes in his military and political strategy that caused the strong Russian counter offensive. His occupation policies caused an uprising from the Russian people who could have been obtained as allies. Most importantly, however, the hatred that filled the hearts of the Russian people in response to Nazi actions became the most formidable enemy to the Third Reich; it established itself as an endless supply of motivation and dedication for the Red Army all the way to Berlin.

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## The Haitian Revolution: Yellow Fever and the Defeat of the French

Robert Zimmerman

The French Private squinted at the unbearable tropical sun beating down upon him. As he lay on his back on the lush green vegetation, baking in the humid heat of Saint Domingue, he could not move a muscle. The stiffness of his body echoed the pain in his head. Occasionally, he would vomit black fluid from his weakening body. A few hours later, he became delirious, mumbled his wife's name, and lost consciousness. For every one soldier killed on the battlefield, in Saint Domingue, four died from disease.<sup>1</sup>

The French military expedition to Saint Domingue in 1802-1804 was one of Napoleon's greatest defeats. The deaths of tens of thousands of soldiers and sailors, not from battle but from yellow fever, combined with the determined resistance of the resident black population led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, led to the defeat of the French army. The loss of political control of Saint Domingue and a successful slave revolt created the nation of Haiti. It became the second independent nation in the Western hemisphere, and the only state founded by a successful slave rebellion.

Yellow fever played an important role in military campaigns conducted by the British and French to end the save revolts in Saint Domingue and recapture the valuable plantations of the colony. Before the twentieth century, little was known about the transmission of yellow fever and how to treat it. Yellow fever is an acute viral hemorrhagic disease found in the tropical and subtropical regions of the Caribbean, South America and Africa. There are two kinds of yellow fever, spread by two different cycles of infection. Jungle yellow fever is mainly a disease of monkeys; the disease spreads from infected mosquitoes to monkeys that live in tropical rain forests. Humans can get tropical yellow fever if bitten by an infected mosquito; however, this is rare and only occurs in persons who live or work in tropical rain forests. Urban yellow fever is the cause of the majority of cases in humans and transmits between humans by the bite of the *Aedes Aegypti* mosquito. An infected person cannot directly pass the virus to another person; the disease can only spread among humans by the *Aedes Aegypti*.

The onset of symptoms occurs suddenly within three to six days after an infected mosquito bites the patient. Chills, high fever, intense headache, nausea, vomiting and muscular aches and pains are the first symptoms of infection and continue for two to three days, after which the virus goes into remission and the symptoms disappear. Some patients recover and a lifelong immunity to the virus develops; but for some, the remission is short lived. Jaundice, the symptom for which the disease gets its name soon develops,

and causes the skin and eyes to turn a shade of yellow as the liver begins to fail. Patients soon begin experiencing hallucinations, and hemorrhaging occurs from the eyes, nose, mouth and gastrointestinal tract. Patients begin vomiting huge quantities of black vomit, followed by convulsions and coma; between the seventh and tenth day of illness the victim dies. Autopsies of patients who died as a result of yellow fever reveal extensive internal damage such as cardiac enlargement and kidney congestion; hemorrhages of the stomach, duodenum, bladder, mucus membranes, and liver necrosis.

A French doctor writing in 1806 described the symptoms of a patient dying from yellow fever. It "appeared suddenly, causing sharp pains in the eye sockets, feet, loins and stomach." A thick, whitish-yellow fluid covered their patient's tongue, then the teeth, and soon changed into a dark black color, and the afflicted found it difficult to breathe from the buildup of blood, fluid and puss in his lungs. Soon the patient began to heal and feel rejuvenated, the improvement, however, only "signaled the end." The nervous system collapsed, causing "cramping and nose-bleeds," while the pulse became "feeble." By then the patient "was already a corpse, putrid and horrible from the blood's decomposition."<sup>2</sup>

A yellow fever epidemic is dependent on several factors, the most important being the presence of a densely settled population without previous exposure. Anytime a large European force appeared in the Caribbean, a major outbreak of yellow fever accompanied it. The mortality rates of yellow fever were thirty to fifty percent, similar to the outbreaks of other deadly diseases such as smallpox, cholera and bubonic plague. Yellow fever, like other epidemic killing diseases, is less severe in children. Survivors of yellow fever develop a limited immunity to re-infection. In areas where a high number of people have developed immunity, the disease becomes endemic until a large enough immune population develops.

The habits of the female *Aedes Aegypti* have much to do with shaping the characteristics of a yellow fever epidemic. She is a domesticated mosquito that lives close to humans and breeds in puddles in discarded tires, flowerpots, oil drums and other man-made items. An epidemic of yellow fever requires a closely packed non-immune human population because the range of flight of the *Aedes Aegypti* is only a few hundred yards. Adequate rainfall is a prerequisite for urban yellow fever epidemics, and many epidemics have taken place shortly after a period of extended rainfall. Warm weather is another prerequisite, for *Aedes Aegypti* will not bite when the temperature is below 62 Fahrenheit (17 Celsius).

Transmission of the virus has some distinctive requirements; only during the first three to six days of infection can a patient transmit yellow fever. After the virus has entered the mosquito, it must incubate for another nine to eighteen days before the mosquito can infect another human. After this period of incubation, the mosquito can continue to spread the disease for the remainder of its life, which typically lasts three to four months.<sup>3</sup>

Urban yellow fever occurs primarily in port cities where it caused frequent, devastating summertime epidemics spread primarily by commercial travel. Port cities in the United States that maintained close commercial relationships with Caribbean islands had the worst outbreaks of yellow fever. The most well know was the outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793. Refugees and merchants from Saint Domingue brought the disease to Philadelphia and yellow fever killed an estimated five thousand people during the summer. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Philadelphia, New Orleans, New York, Boston, and Baltimore suffered from outbreaks of yellow fever almost every summer. During these epidemics, hospital facilities in the Caribbean and the United States were overcrowded, understaffed, and lacked adequate supplies to treat the ever expanding number of patients suffering from yellow fever.

The experiences of British and French physicians in the Caribbean responded to yellow fever somewhat differently during these epidemics. The French approach attempted to ease the symptoms of the disease with warm baths and herbal concoctions. British doctors, most notably Hector McLean and Robert Jackson, attempted new treatments of the disease, including bleeding or blistering to remove blood and bile. They also used purgatives such as calomel, mercury and arsenic compounds. Laudanum (a mixture of alcohol and opium) was the primary treatment; laudanum did not treat the symptoms of the disease, but would ease the pain associated with yellow fever. For patients already sick, the use of Laudanum may have alleviated their pain; however, it also exacerbated their condition and contributed to their death. Laudanum weakened their immune systems, further increasing their chances of contracting secondary infections, and patients often overdosed or became addicted to the Laudanum. The treatments for yellow fever did little to alleviate a victim's suffering, were often more painful than the disease, and demonstrated the low level of understanding that European doctors had of the disease prior to the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup>

The Haitian Revolution began in 1791 and was inspired by events in France, such as the fall of the Bastille, the creation of a National Assembly, and the Declaration of The Rights of Man and Citizen that passed in France on August 26, 1789. These events influenced political and social change in Saint Domingue. While mobs of poor whites adopted the tricolor in France, the ideas of the revolution spread to Saint Domingue, brought the abolition of slavery and decolonization, and overturned the political structure in Saint Domingue. Building on the revolutionary momentum of the French Revolution, the people of Haiti transformed a colonial revolt into a social revolution.<sup>5</sup> The Haitian Revolution produced the world's first example of wholesale emancipation in a major slave-owning society, colonial representation in a metropolitan assembly, and racial equality in a European colony. The Haitian revolution influenced political, social, and geographic changes in Europe, The United States and the colonies of the Caribbean. By refuting the ideology of white supremacy and destroying the governmen-

tal structure that imposed it, the ideas of the French Revolution brought the free "coloreds" to power in Saint Domingue in alliance with republican officials from France.<sup>6</sup> The outcome of the Haitian revolution helped shape the political, social and geographical direction of the United States, Europe, Africa and the Caribbean throughout the nineteenth century.

The American War for Independence also had a profound impact on the development of revolutionary ideas in Saint Domingue. In addition to the spread of liberty, equality and republican ideas to the island, a special regiment of free coloreds went to Georgia to fight the British alongside the American colonists. The men of this group included Henry Christophe, Jean-Pierre Lamert, and Jean-Baptiste Chavannes; these men would use the military experience and new sense of independence to lead their own rebellion.<sup>7</sup>

The British and Americans were cautious toward Saint Domingue while they were concerned that an independent Haiti would encourage slave revolts with their territories, economic interests influenced the British and Americans to accept Toussaint. The British invaded Saint-Domingue in September of 1793, thinking they could achieve an easy victory in concert with the Spanish and pick up a valuable colony. After Toussaint and yellow fever soundly defeated them by 1798, the British sought special relations with Toussaint, and were prepared to help him, encouraging his independence movement. Such a revolution was extremely dangerous to the slave colonies of the British West Indies. Both Britain and the United States treated with Toussaint as though he were the head of an independent state, though Toussaint's constitution and public demeanor claimed that he was a loyal French citizen who had saved the colony for France.

Francois Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture, born Toussaint Breda in Haiti to African slave parents in 1743, united the people of Saint Domingue and led them to victory over the European powers and the creation of the independent nation of Haiti. Toussaint rose to power as one of the leaders of the slave revolts that began during the 1790s. After he led his army to victory against the Spanish and British Toussaint pledged his support to the French, on May 6, 1794. After the battles, Toussaint became governor and commander-in-chief of forces in Saint Domingue in 1796. Influenced by French planters and plantation owners, and his plans for creating a new French Empire in the New World that would challenge the British for control of the Western Hemisphere, Napoleon decided attempt to reassert French control of the island by force. However, at one point Napoleon considered leaving Toussaint in control of Saint Domingue.<sup>8</sup> In a letter Napoleon dictated, addressed to Toussaint and dated March 4, 1801, he informed Toussaint "I am instructing the Minister of Marine to forward to you your commission as Capitan General of the French port of St. Domingo." Napoleon then wrote to the Colonial Prefect; "The policy adopted by the Government makes Toussaint the Republic's foremost functionary in St. Domingo. Rally all the inhabitants around him." Napoleon never sent either letter; both would remain in Napoleon's personal file.<sup>9</sup> These unsent letters to Toussaint

saint and the Colonial Prefect are evidence that Napoleon at one time considered leaving Toussaint as ruler of Saint Domingue. Whether Napoleon was sincere in his intentions to rule Saint Domingue through Toussaint is up for historical debate. Toussaint was loyal to the French Republic, and had Napoleon decided to rule Saint Domingue with Toussaint and allow the people to remain free, history might have dramatically been altered.

In the 18th century, Saint Domingue, was France's wealthiest overseas colony, largely because of its production of sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton generated by an enslaved labor force. Retaking Saint Domingue and crushing the slave rebellion was critical to the resurgence of New France and Napoleon's immediate goal was to control the Caribbean trade, and make France the dominant military and economic power in the Western hemisphere through control of Louisiana, French Guyana and the French West Indies.<sup>10</sup> For Napoleon the first step was to regain control of Saint Domingue. To command the French invasion forces, Napoleon sent General Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc, Napoleon's brother in law, to lead an army of 20,000 well-equipped veteran soldiers. Leclerc had been at Napoleon's side for many years. They had fought together against the British at Toulon in 1793, and then a few years later during the conquest of Italy, Leclerc married Napoleon's favorite sister, Pauline. During the 1799 coup that made Napoleon First Consul, Leclerc led the troops that dispersed the Parliament. Leclerc was now to command an expedition of crucial importance: regaining control of Saint Domingue from Toussaint.<sup>11</sup> Most of the soldiers under Leclerc's command were from the Army of the Rhine and were veterans of campaigns in Germany and Northern Italy; however, they had no experience in the tropics and lacked the "seasoning" of troops deployed to tropical regions. The "seasoning period" was the first six months a new soldier spends in the West Indies, during this time the soldier often contracted malaria or yellow fever. If he survived, he gained immunity to these tropical diseases.<sup>12</sup>

Napoleon and his advisors understood from the experiences of the British that a European army in Saint Domingue during the summer months would suffer casualties from yellow fever. In 1792, the British sent a military expedition to capture the island of Saint Domingue. During this campaign, the British lost 80,000 troops; more men died from tropical diseases like yellow fever and malaria than from wounds sustained during battle. By sending a large force during the winter months, Napoleon hoped to occupy Saint Domingue, capture the Rebellion's leaders, pacify the rebels and restore French rule before April 1802, before the wet summer months, when the "climate of the colonies becomes very dangerous for European troops who are not acclimated to it."<sup>13</sup> Napoleon was convinced yellow fever was the most significant factor in Toussaint's defeat of the British, discounting the ability of the soldiers commanded by Toussaint.

A large invading European army presented the ideal environment for an outbreak of a yellow fever epidemic. The densely packed living conditions and the less than ideal sanitary quarters provided the *Aedes Aegypti* with



an abundance of food and breeding conditions. The hygiene of the men and the lack of adequate hospitals and medical supplies further contributed to the spread of disease. Unsanitary conditions slowed a soldiers' recovery and increased his chances of contracting secondary infections. The poor diet of the soldiers from shortages in supplies also hindered their recovery.

Napoleon divided his plan into three stages that he believed would take no longer than eight weeks; any longer and his troops would have to endure the summer months and the heat, rain and disease. During the first phase, Leclerc was to use deception to gain the trust of Toussaint and his generals while Leclerc's army occupied the coastal cities and harbors with as few casualties as possible. In the second phase, the iron fist was to emerge from the velvet glove to smash the resistance, anyone General Leclerc deemed to be dangerous or a threat to the mission would be arrested and deported to France. In the third stage of the plan, Leclerc and his army were to disarm the population and return the rebels to work on the plantations. There was also a secret fourth phase, the ultimate goal of the mission, the reintroduction of slavery. It is unclear if Leclerc knew of this before he left France; however, his troops believed that their mission was to restore order and to protect the ideas of the revolution in the colony. It was important to keep the troops believing that they were fighting for the ideas of the French Revolution against Toussaint, a traitor acting along with the British.

To deceive the people of Saint Domingue, General Leclerc and his officers carried and distributed a proclamation with them, which stated that the French were there for their protection and guaranteed the freedom of anyone already free. "Whatever may be your origin and your color, you are all Frenchmen; you are all free and equal before God and the Republic." The document goes on, "The government sends you the Captain General Leclerc. He carries with him great forces to protect you against your enemies, and against the enemies of the Republic. If it should be told to you that these forces are intended to tear from you your liberty, answer, the Republic has given us our liberty."<sup>14</sup> Leclerc distributed the document among the people of Saint Domingue; however, Toussaint, his officers, nor the people of Saint Domingue trusted Leclerc's protestations of benevolent purpose. Toussaint never trusted Leclerc, and was perfectly right in his suspicion; he knew "French, British, and Spanish imperialists for the insatiable gangsters that they were, that there is no oath too sacred for them to break, no crime, deception, treachery, cruelty, destruction of human life and property which they would not commit against those who could not defend themselves."<sup>15</sup>

Toussaint had long been preparing for war. When Leclerc arrived, the Tricolor still flew in Saint Domingue, and Toussaint saw European civilization as a valuable and necessary thing. What Toussaint could not stand was losing his liberty and freedom; his army had repelled the invading British, and defeated the Spanish, he would not allow another European power to take what the French Republic had granted him by the Deceleration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. Toussaint possessed an army of twenty thousand well-armed and

well-disciplined regular troops, hardened by years of war. In addition to Toussaint's army, nearly the entire population was armed and prepared to fight a guerilla war and resist foreign invasion. Toussaint was constantly purchasing arms from abroad and caching them all over the country. The English had left nearly sixty thousand muskets, and Toussaint acquired an additional thirty thousand from arms dealers in the United States. In a letter written to the minister of marine from Leclerc shortly after his arrival in Saint Domingue, "It is the Americans who brought the muskets, the cannons, the gunpowder and all sorts of munitions. It is they who instigated Toussaint to go on the defense, and I am entirely convinced that the Americans have formed a plan to promote independence of all the Antilles, because they want to enjoy a monopoly of the trade there, as they have done with Saint Domingue."<sup>16</sup>

Upon learning of the French invasion, Toussaint was bitter but not surprised; "I counted on this happening, I have known that they would come and that the reason behind it would be that one and only goal: reinstatement of slavery. However, I will never again submit to that."<sup>17</sup> Wherever the French would land, Toussaint's strategy was to destroy the resources of the coast, burn the cities, retreat toward the interior, and conduct a guerrilla campaign against the invading French. "Take courage, I tell you, take courage. The French will not be able to remain long in Saint Domingue. They will do well at first, but soon they will fall ill and die like flies. Listen!...I repeat, take courage, and you will see that the French are few and we shall harass them, we shall beat them, we shall burn the harvests and retire to the mountains. They will not be able to guard the country and they will have to leave. Then I shall make you independent. There will be no more whites among us."<sup>18</sup>

On 2 February 1802, the French fleet arrived in the harbor of the city of Le Cap Francois, the city defended by Henri Christophe, one of Toussaint's most trusted and loyal generals. As Toussaint watched, Christophe burned Le Cap to the ground and, by the time Leclerc came ashore fire had reduced Le Cap to a pile of ashes. Toussaint's "scorched earth" policy left the French army without shelter, supplies and foodstuffs that Napoleon had hoped would help support his army once they controlled the coastal towns.<sup>19</sup>

European doctors and generals were aware that soldiers camped in mountainous regions were less likely to contract yellow fever, yet Toussaint's strategy kept the French army in the port cities where the outbreaks of yellow fever were the worse. Toussaint, like the French, was aware of the effect of yellow fever on European armies, "Do not forget, while waiting for the rainy season which will rid us of our foes, that we have no other resource than destruction and fire. Bear in mind that the soil bathed with our sweat must not furnish our enemies with the smallest sustenance. Rear up the roads with shot; throw corpses and horses into all the fountains, burn and annihilate everything in order that those who have come to reduce us to slavery may have before their eyes the image of the hell which they deserve."<sup>20</sup>

By the end of April, Toussaint's best generals, including Jean-Jacques Des-salines and Henri Christophe, men who had fought along Toussaint against the Spanish and British, had all surrendered and joined Leclerc's army.

Than on May 1, 1802, Toussaint surrendered his command. Within two months, Leclerc had achieved Napoleon's first goal, pacification of Toussaint and his generals; however, this did not end the resistance. While many troops followed their generals into the French army or home to their plantations upon surrendering, just as many continued to fight the French under new leaders; as quickly as Leclerc could kill, arrest, or deceive, new men rose to replace them to take up the cause of defending liberty.

Toussaint's actions leading to his decision to surrender as well as his actions after his surrender and retirement to his plantation are the subject of historical debate. Some historians believe that Toussaint, now in his fifties, the physical toll of nonstop warfare and he was not physically able to continue fighting. Another theory is that Toussaint surrendered to protect his life and the lives of his generals. Still other theories assert that Toussaint's retirement was a ruse and that he planned to wait out the summer months and hope that disease would affect the French just as it had killed thousands of British soldiers. The combination of a disease-weakened French army and the open rebellion of the people of Saint Domingue would create a situation Toussaint probably believed would force Napoleon to abandon his campaign in Saint Domingue. Toussaint needed time; his generals supporting Leclerc would help buy that time while providing Toussaint with information on the French plans. While most of this is speculation, it is hard to believe Toussaint would walk away so easily after fighting for ten years to preserve his liberty and the liberty of his people.<sup>21</sup>

Jean-Jacques Dessalines had fought along with Toussaint for many years; overtaken by personal ambition, he was now determined to get Toussaint out of the way. Dessalines convinced Leclerc that the colony would never be at peace unless Leclerc arrested and deported Toussaint; and that the peace Toussaint planned would come only with the destruction of Leclerc and the destruction of everything French on the island. Dessalines had fooled Leclerc into believing that arresting and deporting Toussaint to France would help bring the resistance under control. However, Lieutenant General Donatien-Marie-Joseph Rochambeau Leclerc's second in command never trusted Dessalines and warned the other French officers that Dessalines was not to be trusted.<sup>22</sup> On 7 June at Georges plantation with Dessalines assistance Toussaint was arrested. Toussaint and his family were then deported to France, and imprisoned at Fort de Joux, a cold damp prison in the French Alps, near the border of France and Switzerland.<sup>23</sup> Just as the climate of Saint Domingue was deadly to Europeans, for Toussaint the cold climate of the mountains was just as deadly. Toussaint had never experienced cold weather like that of the French Alps. He suffered from headaches, intestinal disorders, rheumatism affected his lungs, and a persistent cough developed. His teeth troubled him and during his short stay, an army surgeon pulled five of his teeth. Even on his deathbed, Toussaint appealed to Napoleon and displayed his allegiance to the French Republic. Toussaint wrote to Napoleon, "I have had the misfortune to incur your anger; but as to fidel-

ity and probity, I am strong in my conscience, and I dare to say with truth that among all the servants of the State none is more honest than I. I was one of your soldiers and the first servant of the Republic in San Domingo. I am today wretched, ruined, dishonored, a victim of my own services. Let your sensibility be touched at my position, you are too great in feeling and too just not to pronounce on my destiny..."<sup>24</sup> On 7 April 1803, Toussaint died from a combination of sickness, malnutrition and mistreatment.<sup>25</sup>

The arrest and deportation of Toussaint would set into motion a series of events that would lead to Leclerc's death and the loss of French control of Saint Domingue. Rather than pacifying the colony, resistance increased. Toussaint had always stood for liberty above all and he fought to protect the liberty and freedom that the French Republic stood for and resisted the reestablishment of slavery. When news of the betrayal and arrest of Toussaint by Leclerc spread across the island the people of Saint Domingue rose up in violent resistance. Some of Toussaint's officers refused to surrender; Gange, Alexis Valemo, Janvier Thomas, Noel Guingand, Lafortune, Jean Panier, Ascylla, Charles Crihole, Petit-Noel and Charles Devoit led the local population of Saint Domingue in continued resistance against the French.<sup>26</sup>

In May of 1802, yellow fever had reached epidemic proportions. By the end of July, thousands of French troops were choking to death on black vomit. Leclerc began writing to Napoleon warning him to prepare for a "considerable consumption of men in this land" and that he could not complete his mission without "troops provisions, and money." Leclerc feared that "no matter what supernatural effort I make," he would be unable to "preserve Saint Domingue for the Republic."<sup>27</sup>

In a letter to the Minister of Marine from May 8, 1802 Leclerc, shows how fast the disease was spreading and the toll it was taking on Leclerc's forces "Sickness is causing frightful havoc in the army under my command... I have at this moment 3,600 men in hospital. For the last fifteen days, I have been losing from thirty to fifty men a day in the colony and no day passes without from two hundred to two hundred and fifty men entering hospital, where not more than fifty come out."<sup>28</sup> Each wave of disease attacked, with increasing levels of suffering and death until "troops went straight from their transport ships to their Grave."<sup>29</sup> Within ten days of arrival, yellow fever had killed an entire regiment of Polish troops; "they fell down as they walked," a planter noted, "the blood rushing out of their nostrils, mouth and eyes."<sup>30</sup> During the summer of 1802, an average of one hundred men died each day from yellow fever. One regiment originally consisted of 1,305 men; within a few months, only one hundred ninety men remained alive, and of those one hundred seven were in hospital.<sup>31</sup>

Yellow fever rarely strikes alone; malaria, smallpox, dysentery and typhus often occur simultaneously. While these diseases were also present in Saint Domingue, the majority of those killed died from yellow fever. Many of those who survived yellow fever succumbed to one of the other diseases. Historical records predominantly detail the symptoms of yellow fever. Reports of

black vomit and troops bleeding from their eyes, falling down dead as they marched, tend to get more attention in military reports, newspaper articles and historical records. In a letter from 6 June 1802 to the Minister of Marine, General Leclerc paid special attention to yellow fever; "I ordered the chief officer of health to draw up a report for me on this sickness. According to this report it seems that this sickness is that which is called Yellow fever or Siamese disease; that this sickness reigns every year in the Antilles at the time of the passage of the sun in this hemisphere, but that it displays at Le Cap more intensity than is usual..." Leclerc goes on, "the sickness affects them suddenly and kills within two days or three; but of those attacked not one fifth have escaped death. The sickness attacks equally those who are in comfortable positions and who care for themselves well, and those whose means do not permit them to take precautions necessary to their health."<sup>32</sup>

The second phase of Napoleon's plan called for Leclerc to send the captured generals back to France. However, due to losses from diseases Leclerc had to depend on officers like Dessalines and Christophe and the colonial troops they commanded to continue to fight the insurgents. Colonial troops provided Leclerc with the soldiers he desperately needed to maintain his hold on the colony. In a letter to the Minister of Marine from August 25, 1802, Leclerc explains why he has not deported the generals: "It appears to me from the orders that you send me that you have not got a clear idea of my position here. You order me to send the black generals to Europe. It would be very simple to arrest them all the same day; but I use these generals to quell the revolts which never stop...It is not enough to take away Toussaint, there are two thousand leaders to take away."<sup>33</sup> The more Leclerc depended on the colonial troops, the weaker he became.

Between June and October, Leclerc began the third phase of Napoleon's plan, the disarmament of the local population. The size of Leclerc's army and his dependence on colonial troops made this a long and dangerous process. During this time Dessalines, was consolidating his power, he exploited his position within the French army to kill his enemies and suppress those who stood in the way of his rise to power. The French created the vehicle by which Jean-Jacques Dessalines rose to power, the French in a way supported and paid for their own defeat.<sup>34</sup>

General Leclerc feared that restoring slavery would further agitate the local population and end his hopes of completing his mission. Leclerc expressed his concern in a letter to the Minister of Marine, on August 2, 1802; "All the blacks are persuaded...by the decree of General Richepanse which re-established slavery in Guadeloupe, that the intention is to make them slaves again, and I can ensure that disarmament only by long and stubborn conflicts. These men do not wish to surrender. It must be admitted that on the eve of settling everything here, the political circumstances of which I have spoken to you above have destroyed my work. The unfortunate measures you have adopted have destroyed everything and inflamed minds. We will no longer be able to reduce the blacks except by force of arms. For this we need an army and funds, without which the prosperity of San Domingo is in grave danger."<sup>35</sup>

Napoleon ignored Leclerc's warnings and on April 27, 1802, officially announced the retraction of the decree of 1794, France would once again accept, and embrace, the existence of slavery in its empire. The tricolor that flew in Saint Domingue would no longer represent *Liberté, égalité, fraternité* for the residents of Saint Domingue.

Soldiers of Napoleon's army began to question Napoleon's decision to reestablish slavery in Saint Domingue. The soldiers still thought of themselves as a revolutionary army. At night they heard the blacks singing the *Marseillaise*, the *Ça Ira*, and other revolutionary songs. The soldiers began to question the true nature of their mission: "have our barbarous enemies justice on their side? Are we no longer the soldiers of Republican France? And have we become the crude instruments of policy?"<sup>36</sup> Like the black troops of Saint Domingue, French soldiers were a product of the French Revolution and were inspired to protect the ideas of the French Republic. Their intelligence, moral and political ideas were the result of the new social freedom created by the French Revolution and the destruction of feudalism; their consciousness that they, the people, had created a new social order and their mission was to spread and protect liberty and equality.<sup>37</sup>

As the summer ended Leclerc hoped the health of his troops would improve; it did not and disease continued to kill his troops faster than reinforcements could arrive. "My position becomes worse form day to day. I am in such a miserable plight that I have no idea when and how I will get out of it ... the malady has again taken new strength and the month of Fructidor cost me more the 4,000 dead."<sup>38</sup> Leclerc's health had been poor since his arrival on Saint Domingue and now he was aware of his impending death. On the night of November 2, 1803, Leclerc died, knowing that he failed and Saint Domingue was lost to France.

On the same day that Leclerc died from yellow fever, at Archahye, a small village south of St. Marc, rebel leaders elected Dessalines the commander of the rebel army, and adopted a new flag. The legend behind the creation of the new red and blue flag has Dessalines taking a French tricolor and ripping the white from the flag, a symbol of how he planned to rid the island of whites.<sup>39</sup>

Rochambeau took over command of the army after Leclerc's death. Reinforced by twenty thousand troops, the French were in their best position since Toussaint's surrender. Rochambeau was ruthless. Rochambeau's brutality however, proved to be counterproductive; it helped expand and cement the alliance between the blacks and mulattos. Rochambeau had more troops than Leclerc's original expedition and a portion of the force had developed immunity against yellow fever. Many of these troops were veterans of the conflict in Guadeloupe, where they previously been exposed to yellow fever and guerilla warfare.<sup>40</sup> Napoleon was equipping another fifteen thousand fresh troops to prepare for the coming summer months, and an additional fifteen thousand troops to deliver the decisive blow in the autumn. Before Napoleon could send these troops to Saint Domingue his negotiations with Great Britain ended and on 12 May, France was once again at war with Great Britain.<sup>41</sup>

Dessalines allied himself with Britain who provided arms and naval support. France had a small navy and the invasion of Saint Domingue was dependent on peaceful relations with Britain. Renewed warfare with Britain left France unable to support the troops in Saint Domingue. In early July, the British fleet established a blockade of the colony, cutting off Rochambeau, from reinforcements and supplies from France. By the end of October the French were reduced to holding only Le Cap and were besieged and in danger of starvation. The French forces were able to hold out until November 10, 1803 Rochambeau begged for a 10-day truce to allow the evacuation of Le Cap, thus giving Haiti to the Haitians. On November 19, 1803, Rochambeau sailed out into the harbor of Le Cap to surrender his sword to the waiting English admiral. Of all the French dispatched to Saint Domingue, an estimated 50,000 French troops had died, with one in four of them dying of yellow fever during the two-year campaign, and only 3,000 remained alive. After the French retreat, those who escaped imprisonment by the British went to the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, where yellow fever continued to ravage the survivors for another three years. After 13 years of revolutionary activity, France was officially removed from the island. The country was in ruins, the masses were mainly uneducated and struggling for survival, the United States, Britain, Spain and, France, were all skeptical and nervous about the new all-black republic. The French, of course, regretted the loss of an enormously rich colony. The British feared the impact of the Haitian Revolution on Jamaica and her other slave colonies. The U.S. worried about the impact of the servile revolution on the south of its own nation. Spain had lost her colony of Santo Domingo, next door to Saint-Domingue, and feared the spread of her influence to Puerto Rico and Cuba.<sup>42</sup>

Why did yellow fever decimate the French so thoroughly? Napoleon's plan were designed for the conditions of Western Europe, but the hot and wet tropical conditions of Saint Domingue presented new challenges Napoleon did not prepare for. The size of the initial force was too small and from the beginning, and the expedition was plagued with supply problems, the troops lacked adequate food, clothing and medicine. Additionally Napoleon did not listen to his advisors who warned him that "unseasoned" troops had a high causality rate and failed to provide Leclerc with adequate troop reinforcements. Napoleon lacked appropriate tropical clothing, food, and medicine. The mission in the hot humid conditions of Saint Domingue was haunted by death from the moment the men disembarked.

While French troops suffered from other tropical diseases including malaria, intestinal parasites, dysentery and typhus, yellow fever was the main killer. The physical environment was favorable for an epidemic. Heavy spring rains provided ample mosquito breeding sites for the *Aedes Aegypti* mosquito. The biological environment was also ideal for a yellow fever epidemic. The French soldiers sent to Saint Domingue had no previous exposure to yellow fever, and represented a "virgin soil" population for the disease. Just as European disease had wiped out the Taino Indians of Hispaniola, tropical disease killed European soldiers sent to the island to subdue its people and reestablish slavery.

Many historians have over emphasized on the role of yellow fever in the military campaigns conducted by the British and French to end the slave revolts in Saint Domingue. While yellow fever had a significant role in the French defeat in Saint Domingue, to focus on disease as the only factor in the French defeat would discount the leadership, ability, determination, skill, self-sacrifice and heroism of the men, women and children who fought to maintain their freedom. Toussaint's troops and generals were veterans of years of fighting and remained loyal to the ideas of the French Republic, the tri-color and the French Revolution, and would not accept any attempts to take away their liberty. In addition to the professional soldiers, the people of Saint Domingue organized into a strong militia; Toussaint had armed and trained the people of Saint Domingue to resist anyone who tried to return them to bondage. No measure Toussaint took proved of greater importance than the organization of practically the entire Negro population into a militia. Toussaint liked to conduct frequent reviews of the militia; one day while reviewing a militia contingent, he took a musket from the hand of a cultivator, held it aloft and cried; "this is your liberty."<sup>43</sup> The men and women of Saint Domingue refused to give up; through their determination, the free colored people of Saint Domingue successively forced Spain, Great Britain and France, the great western maritime powers, to withdraw from Saint Domingue.

The historical impact of the Haitian Revolution extended beyond the small Caribbean island. The success of the former slaves of Saint Domingue challenged the racial ideas of blacks being inferior to whites and unable to govern themselves, and inspired other people of color to move towards independence. Perhaps nowhere was its impact greater than in the United States, where The Haitian Revolution directly influenced two of the most significant events in the history of the United States: the Louisiana Purchase and the American Civil War. The southern states closed their doors to immigration from the island and tried to keep the news of the black revolution from their slaves. Because of North America's commerce with Saint Domingue, however, American newspapers reported almost daily on the political and military struggles on the island.

With Napoleon's defeat in Saint Domingue, he abandoned his plans for a North American empire and returned his attention to his European Empire. With his plans for Louisiana abandoned, the French sold the Louisiana territory to the United States. The role Saint Domingue and yellow fever had in the sale of Louisiana is another controversial and hotly debated topic among historians. E. Wilson Lyon and Robert Ferrell believed that the failure of the Saint Domingue expedition was one of several important influences on Napoleon's decision to abandon his Louisiana project. After his expedition was one of several important influences on Napoleon's decision to abandon his Louisiana project. After his experiences with yellow fever in Saint Domingue, Napoleon was concerned that yellow fever existed in the Mississippi Delta and feared any attempts to colonize it would end with similar results to the expedition in Saint Domingue. While epidemics of yellow fever were present in New Orleans during summer months these outbreaks were commonly associated with trade with Saint Domingue.

The man often referred to as "the black Napoleon" was a threat, not only to his rule and ambitions, but also to the entire social order. The invasion of Saint Domingue was a war that Napoleon did not have to fight. In Toussaint, he had an ally who was loyal to the French Republic, and Toussaint believed that Saint Domingue would only survive with French assistance. While dictating his memoirs on St. Helena Napoleon said to his secretary Emanuel Las Cases "My greatest mistake was to try to subdue Haiti by force of arms. I should have let Toussaint-L'Ouverture rule it."<sup>44</sup>

The Haitian revolution represented the most radical political transformation of the "age of Revolution" lasting from the 1770s to the 1830s. Influenced by the idea that the rights proclaimed in France's 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen were indeed universal, the impact of the Haitian Revolution was enormous. As a unique example of a successful black revolution, it became a crucial part of the political, philosophical, and cultural currents of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The experiences and ideas of the revolution influenced France, England, and the United States to outlaw slavery, a crucial moment in the history of democracy, one that laid the foundation for the continuing struggles for human right everywhere.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Robert K.D. Person. "Insects, Disease, and Military History: The Napoleonic Campaigns and Historical Perception." *American Entomologist*. 41:147-160.
- <sup>2</sup> Ralph Korngold, *Citizen Toussaint* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1965), 280.
- <sup>3</sup> Kenneth F. Kiple, edited, *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1011.
- <sup>4</sup> Thomas O. Ott, *The Haitian Revolution: 1789-1804* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973), 181.
- <sup>5</sup> Gordon S. Brown, *Toussaint's Clause: The Founding Fathers and the Haitian Revolution*. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi),
- <sup>6</sup> David Patrick Geggus, *Haitian Revolutionary Studies* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 14.
- <sup>7</sup> Geggus, 8.
- <sup>8</sup> Geggus, 23-24.
- <sup>9</sup> Brown, 231.
- <sup>10</sup> Ott, 143.
- <sup>11</sup> Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*. (Cambridge: Belknap Press 2004), 251.
- <sup>12</sup> Ott, 147.
- <sup>13</sup> Korngold, 206.
- <sup>14</sup> Brown 204.
- <sup>15</sup> C.L.R. James. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. (New York: Random House 1963), 271.
- <sup>16</sup> Brown, 206.
- <sup>17</sup> Marint Ros. *Night of Fire: The Black Napoleon and the Battle for Haiti*. (New York: Sarpedon). 153.
- <sup>18</sup> James, 314.
- <sup>19</sup> Ott, 149.
- <sup>20</sup> James, 300.
- <sup>21</sup> Ott, 171.
- <sup>22</sup> James, 352.
- <sup>23</sup> Ott, 177.
- <sup>24</sup> James, 364.
- <sup>25</sup> Korngold, 265.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> Korngold, 268.
- <sup>28</sup> James, 331.
- <sup>29</sup> Ott, 180.
- <sup>30</sup> Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story Behind the Haitian Revolution*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.) 382.
- <sup>31</sup> Korngold, 268.
- <sup>32</sup> James, 332.
- <sup>33</sup> James, 346.

- <sup>34</sup> Ott 173.  
<sup>35</sup> James, 342.  
<sup>36</sup> James, 317-318.  
<sup>37</sup> James, 306.  
<sup>38</sup> James, 350.  
<sup>39</sup> Ott, 177.  
<sup>40</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>41</sup> Kongold, 347.  
<sup>42</sup> Kiple, 1104.  
<sup>43</sup> Korngold, 236.  
<sup>44</sup> Ros, 152.

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## Note to Contributors

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Articles may be submitted by undergraduate and graduate students who are currently attending Towson University or have graduated within one year prior to the posted deadline for submissions. Only students may submit full-length articles; however, faculty members are permitted to submit book reviews and brief essays.

Submissions must address a topic of historical significance in a scholarly manner. The author must present a thesis and provide a cogent argument with evidence to support his or her position. Authors are expected to utilize primary and secondary sources. Articles must be written in a style that demonstrates proper use of the English language and serves as a model of excellence in composition.

Articles must be no more than 6,000 words. Endnotes must be used, following the *Chicago Manual of Style* or *Turabian's Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*.

All papers must be accompanied by a written recommendation from the instructor who served as mentor when the paper was written. A recommendation does not guarantee publication of a manuscript.

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